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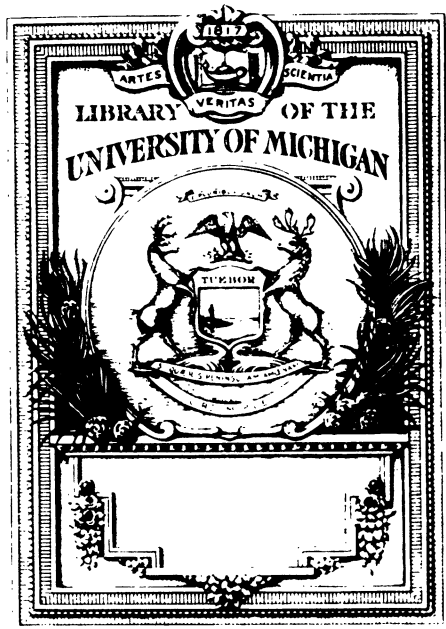
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1905

LAMONTAN  
NEW VOYAGES  
TO  
NORTH-AMERICA

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LAHONTAN'S  
NEW VOYAGES TO NORTH-AMERICA  
EDITED BY  
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL.D.  
VOLUME II





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NEW VOYAGES  
TO  
NORTH-AMERICA

BY THE  
BARON DE LAHONTAN

*Reprinted from the English edition of 1703, with facsimiles of  
original title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and the  
addition of Introduction, Notes, and Index*

By Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D.

*Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Hennepin's  
"New Discovery," etc.*

**In Two Volumes**

VOLUME II

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1905

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NEW  
VOYAGES  
TO  
North-America.

Giving a full Account of the Customs,  
Commerce, Religion, and strange O-  
pinions of the Savages of that Country.

WITH  
POLITICAL REMARKS upon the Courts  
of *Portugal* and *Denmark*, and the Present  
State of the Commerce of those Countries.

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Never Printed before.

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WRITTEN  
By the Baron LAHONTAN, Lord  
Lieutenant of the *French Colony* at  
*Placentia* in *Newfoundland*: Now in  
*England*.

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VOL. II.

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LONDON:

Printed for H. Bowwicke in St. Paul's Church-yard; T. Gosdwin,  
M. Watson, B. Tooke in Fleetstreet; and S. Manship in Cornhill,  
1703.

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[1] A  
DISCOURSE  
OF THE  
Habit, Houfes, Complexion and  
Temperament  
OF THE  
SAVAGES  
OF  
*NORTH-AMERICA.*

---

THE *Grecian* Chronologers who divided the course of Time into three Periods, namely the ἀδηλον, or that which is wrapt up in Obscurity, the μυθικόν, *alias* ἡζωικόν, or that which was the season of Fiction and Fables, and the *ισοειχόν* which affords us true and creditable Actions: These Chronologers, I say, might have sav'd themselves the trouble of writing a Thousand idle Stories relating to the Original of the Inhabitants of the Earth; for the invention of Writing being unknown to them before the Siege of *Troy*, they had no other Standard to consult [2] but the Fabulous Manuscripts of the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans*, who were a Phanatick Superstitious sort of People. But supposing the

*Egyptians* and *Chaldeans* to have invented the Art of Writing, what Credit can we give to the accounts of things that are said to have happen'd before the date of that Invention? In all probability they knew no more of the matter than the *Americans*, and upon that score 'twas very hard for them to give a faithful Narrative of the Adventures and Exploits of their Ancestors. I am now fully convinc'd that Tradition is so inconstant, obscure, uncertain and fallacious, that we can't pretend to rely upon it. And this Notion I owe to the Savages of *Canada*, who being at a loss to trace the truth of what has been transacted in their own Country but 200 Years ago, gave me occasion to call in Question the Purity and Truth of Tradition. Upon this lay you may easily apprehend, that these poor People are as little acquainted with their own History and Origin, as the *Greeks* and *Chaldeans* were with theirs. Let us therefore content our selves, *my good Friend*, in believing that they are descended of honest old *Adam*, as well as you and I.

I have read some Histories of *Canada*, which were writ at several times by the Monks, and must own that they have given some plain and exact Descriptions of such Countries as they knew; but at the same time they are widely mistaken in their Accounts of the Manners and Customs of the Savages.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The "monkish histories" of Canada which Lahontan had probably seen, were: *Jesuit Relations*, of which forty volumes had been published yearly in Paris from 1632-73; Du Creux, *Historiæ Canadensis seu Novæ-Franciæ* (Paris, 1664), largely composed from the *Relations*; and Thévenot, *Receuil des Voyages Curieux* (Paris, 1681), containing Marquette's account of his discoveries. The Recollect historians were Sagard-Theodat, *Histoire du Canada et voyages que les frères*

The Recollets brand the Savages for stupid, grofs and ruftick Perfons, uncapable of Thought or Reflection: But the Jefuits give them other fort of Language, for they intitle them to good Senfe, to a tenacious Memory, and to a quick Apprehenfion feafon'd [3] with a folid Judgment. The former allege that 'tis to no purpofe to preach the Gofpel to a fort of People that have lefs Knowledge than the Brutes.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the latter (I mean the Jefuits) give it out, that thefe Savages take Pleafure in hearing the Word of God, and readily apprehend the meaning of the Scriptures. In the mean time, 'tis no difficult matter to point to the Reafons that influence the one and the other to fuch Allegations; the Myftery is eafily unravell'd by thofe who know that thefe two Orders cannot fet their Horfes together in *Canada*.<sup>2</sup>

I have feen fo many impertinent Accounts of this Country, and thofe written by Authors that pafs'd for Saints; that I now begin to believe, that all Hiftory is one continued

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*mineurs Récollets y ont faicts* (1636); Le Clercq, *Premier établiffement de la foy dans la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1691); Hennepin, *Description de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1683); *New Discovery* (London, 1698). — ED.

<sup>1</sup> See Thwaites (ed.), *Hennepin's New Discovery*, p. 466, for an example of this allegation of the Recollets. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The rivalry between the two orders was nearly co-extensive with the history of New France, where the Recollets were first upon the field, but after 1632 were fupplanted by the Jefuits. Talon re-introduced the Recollets to Canada in 1670, that they might act as a foil to the Jefuits. The former were fupported by Frontenac and the governor's party in the colony, and accompanied La Salle upon his explorations. Lahontan means to intimate that the difference in the attitude of the two orders towards the faves, refted upon the varying fuccess of their refpective miffions — thofe of the Jefuits being large and flourishing, of the Recollets few and languifhing. — ED.

Series of Pyrrhonism.<sup>1</sup> Had I been unacquainted with the Language of the Savages, I might have credited all that was said of them; but the opportunity I had of Conversing with that People, serv'd to undeceive me, and gave me to understand, that the Recollets and the Jesuits content themselves with glancing at things, without taking notice of the (almost) invincible Averfion of the Savages to the Truths of Christianity. Both the one and the other had good reason to be cautious of touching upon that String. In the mean time suffer me to acquaint you, that upon this Head I only speak of the Savages of *Canada*, excluding those that live beyond the River of *Mississipi*, of whose Manners and Customs I could not acquire a perfect Scheme, by reason that I was unacquainted with their Languages, not to mention that I had not time to make any long stay in their Country. In the Journal of my Voyage upon the long River, I acquainted you that they are a very polite People, which you [4] will likewise infer from the Circumstances mention'd in that Discourse.

(Those who have represented the Savages to be as rough as Bears, never had the opportunity of seeing them; for they have neither Beard nor Hair in any part of their Body, not so much as under their Arm-pits.<sup>2</sup>) This is true of both Sexes, if I may credit those who ought to know better than I.

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<sup>1</sup> Pyrrho was a Greek philosopher, founder of the school of absolute skepticism. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The Indians are not altogether beardless; but, disliking the custom of wearing hair upon the face, pluck it out by the roots. See *Jesuit Relations*, i, p. 281; ii, p. 23, where Membertou, the Acadian chief, is spoken of as being bearded like a Frenchman. — ED.

Generally they are proper well made Persons, and fitter Companions to *American* than to *European* Women. The *Iroquefe* are of a larger Stature, and withal more Valiant and Cunning than the other Nations; but at the same time they are neither so Nimble nor so Dexterous at the Exercifes of War or Hunting, which they never go about but in great Numbers. The *Illinefe*, the *Oumamis*, and the *Outagamins*; with fome other adjacent Nations, are of an indifferent fize, and run like Greyhounds, if the Comparifon be allowable. The *Outaouas*, and moft of the other Savages to the *Northward*, (excepting the *Sauteurs* and the *Cliftinos*) are cowardly, ugly, and ungainly Fellows; but the *Hurons* are a brave, active and daring People, refembling the *Iroquefe* in their Stature and Countenance.

All the Savages are of a Sanguine Conftitution, inclining to an Olive Colour, and generally fpeaking they have good Faces and proper Persons. ('Tis a great rarity to find any among them that are Lame, Hunch-back'd, One-ey'd, Blind, or Dumb.<sup>1</sup> Their Eyes are large and black as well as their Hair; their Teeth are White like Ivory, and the Breath that fprings from their Mouth in expiration is as pure as the Air that they fuck in in Infpiration,) notwithstanding they eat no Bread; which fhews that we are miftaken in *Europe*, in fancying that the eating of Meat [5] without Bread makes one's breath ftink. They are neither fo ftrong nor fo vigorous as moft of the *French* are in raifing of Weights with their Arms,

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<sup>1</sup> On immunity from difeafe and deformity, confult *Jes. Rel.*, iii, p. 75.—ED.



or carrying of Burdens on their Backs; but to make amends for that, they are indefatigable and inur'd to Hardships, inso-much that (the Inconveniences of Cold or Heat have no impression upon them) their whole time being spent in the way of Exercise, whether in running up and down at Hunting and Fishing, or in Dancing and playing at Foot-ball, or such Games as require the Motion of the Legs.

(The Women are of an indifferent Stature, and as handsome in the Face as you can well imagine; but then they are so fat, unwieldy and ill-built, that they'll scarce tempt any but Savages. Their Hair is rolled up behind with a sort of Ribband, and that Roller hangs down to their Girdle; they never offer to cut their Hair during the whole Course of their Lives, whereas the Men cut theirs every Month.<sup>1</sup>) Twere to be wished, that the same good luck which led them to the observation of this, had thrown them upon the other Advices of St. Paul. They are covered from the Neck to under the Knee, and always put their Legs a cross when they sit. The Girls do the same from their *Cradle*; if the Word be not improper, for there is no such thing as a *Cradle* among the Savages. The Mothers make use of certain little Boards stuffed with Cotton, upon which the Children lye as if their Backs were glued to them, being swaddled in Linnen, and kept on with Swathbands run through the sides of the Boards. To these Boards they tye

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<sup>1</sup> On the various fashions of hair-dressing among the Indians, see *Jes. Rel.*, xlv, pp. 285, 287. A woman's hair was sometimes cut as a punishment for adultery. — ED.

Strings, by which they hang their Children upon the Branches of Trees, when they are about any thing in the Woods.<sup>1</sup>

[6] The old and the married Men have a piece of Stuff which covers them behind, and reaches half way down their Thighs before ; whereas the young Men are stark naked all over. They alledge that Nakedness is no infraction upon the Measures of Decency, any otherwise than as it is contrary to the Custom of the *Europeans*, and condemn'd by the Notion that they have of it. However, both the young and the old hang upon their Backs in a careless way a Covering of Hide or of Scarlet, when they go abroad to Walk or to make Visits. They have likewise a sort of Cloaks or Coats calculated for the Season, when they go a Hunting or upon Warlike Expeditions, in order to guard off the Cold in Winter, and the Flies in Summer. Upon such occasions they make use of a sort of Caps made in the form of a Hat, and Shooes of Elk or Hart Skins, which reach up to their mid-Leg.<sup>2</sup>

Their Villages are Fortified with double Palissadoes of very hard Wood, which are as thick as one's Thigh, and fifteen Foot high, with little Squares about the middle of the Courtines. Commonly their Huts or Cottages are Eighty Foot long, Twenty five or Thirty Foot deep, and Twenty Foot high. They are cover'd with the Bark of young Elms ;

<sup>1</sup> For a good description of these Indian cradles, see Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels*, ii, pp. 97, 98 ; Masson, *Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1890), ii, pp. 322, 323. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Le Jeune gives in *Jes. Rel.*, vii, pp. 7-19, a good description of the various kinds of dress among the Canadian Indians at different seasons of the year. — ED.

and have two Alcoves, one on the right Hand and the other on the left, being a Foot high and nine Foot broad, between which they make their Fires, there being vents made in the Roof for the Smoak. Upon the sides of the two Alcoves there are little Clofets or Apartments in which the young Women or married Perfons lye upon little Beds rais'd about a Foot from the Ground. To Conclude, one Hut contains three or four Families.<sup>1</sup>

[7] The Savages are very Healthy, and unacquainted with an infinity of Difeases, that plague the *Europeans*, such as the *Palsy*, the *Dropsey*, the *Gout*, the *Phtifick*, the *Aftbma*, the *Gravel*, and the *Stone*: But at the same time they are liable to the *Small-Pox*, and to *Pleurifies*. If a Man dies at the Age of Sixty Years, they think he dies young, for they commonly live to Eighty or an Hundred; nay, I met with two that were turn'd of an Hundred several Years.<sup>2</sup> But there are some among them that do not live so long, because they voluntarily shorten their Lives by poysoning themselves, as I shall shew

<sup>1</sup> The domestic architecture of the American aborigines varied with the tribe and their habitat. Lahontan had ranged from Newfoundland to Mackinac, if not farther, and it is a question which of the many classes of huts he had seen he is now describing. Probably he refers to those of the Huron, who then lived in settled villages both in the Mackinac district and near the French fort on Lake St. Clair. See Parkman, *Jesuits in North America*, pp. xxvi-xxviii. Upon the entire subject of Indian dwellings, consult Morgan, "Houses and House-Life of American Aborigines," United States Geological Survey, *Contributions to Ethnology*, 1881. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> Early travellers obtained a mistaken notion of Indian longevity. Older chiefs, like many old men among the whites, took pride in their length of years and delighted in enlarging upon the facts. Modern observation proves that savages are the victims of their unsanitary life, and are subject to peculiar hardships and vicissitudes, hence die rather younger than white men. — ED.

you elfewhere. In this Point they seem to join issue with *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, who vindicate *Self-Murther*; and from thence I conclude, that the *Americans* are as great Fools as these great Philosophers.

*A short View of the Humors and Customs of the*  
S A V A G E S.

THE *Savages* are utter Strangers to distinctions of Property, for what belongs to one is equally anothers. If any one of them be in danger at the Beaver Hunting the rest fly to his Assistance without being so much as ask'd. If his Fufee bursts they are ready to offer him their own. If any of his Children be kill'd or taken by the Enemy, he is presently furnish'd with as many Slaves as he hath occasion for. Money is in use with none of them but those that are Christians, who live in the Suburbs of our Towns. The others will not touch or so much as look upon Silver, but give it the odious Name of the *French Serpent*. They'l tell you that amongst [8] us the People Murther, Plunder, Defame, and betray one another, for Money, that the Husbands make Merchandize of their Wives, and the Mothers of their Daughters, for the Lucre of that Metal. They think it unaccountable that one Man should have more than another, and that the Rich should have more Respect than the Poor. In short, they say, the name of Savages which we bestow upon them would fit our selves better, since there is nothing in our Actions that bears an appearance of Wisdom. Such as have been in *France* were continually teasing us with the Faults and Disorders

they observ'd in our Towns, as being occasion'd by Money. 'Tis in vain to remonstrate to them how useful the Distinction of Property is for the support of a Society: They make a Jest of what's to be said on that Head. In fine, (they neither Quarrel nor Fight, nor Slander one another) They scoff at Arts and Sciences, and laugh at the difference of Degrees which is observ'd with us. They brand us for Slaves, and call us miserable Souls, whose Life is not worth having, alledging, That we degrade our selves in subjecting our selves to one Man who possesses the whole Power, and is bound by no Law but his own Will; That we have continual Jars among our selves; that our Children rebel against their Parents; that we Imprison one another, and publickly promote our own Destruction. (Besides, they value themselves above any thing that you can imagine, and this is the reason they always give for't, *That one's as much Master as another, and since Men are all made of the same Clay there should be no Distinction or Superiority among them.*) They pretend that their contented way of Living far surpasses our Riches; That all our Sciences are not so valuable as the Art of leading a peaceful calm Life; [9] That a Man is not a Man with us any farther than Riches will make him; but among them the true Qualifications of a Man are, to run well, to hunt, to bend the Bow and manage the Fuzee, to work a Cannoo, to understand War, to know Forrests, to subsist upon a little, to build Cottages, to fell Trees, and to be able to travel an hundred Leagues in a Wood without any Guide, or other Provision than his Bow and Arrows. They say, we are great Cheats in selling them

bad Wares four times dearer than they are worth, by way of Exchange for their Beaver-skins: That our Fuzees are continually burſting and laming them, after they have paid ſufficient Prices for them. I wiſh I had time to recount the innumerable Abſurdities they are guilty of relating to our Cuſtoms, but to be particular upon that Head would be a Work of Ten or Twelve Days.

Their Viſtuals are either Boild or roasted, and they lap great quantities of the Broath, both of Meat and of Fiſh: They cannot bear the taſte of Salt or Spices, and wonder that we are able to live ſo long as thirty Years, conſidering our Wines, our Spices, and our Immoderate Uſe of Women. They dine generally Forty or Fifty in a Company, and ſometimes above Three Hundred: Two Hours before they begin they employ themſelves in Dancing, and each Man ſings his Exploits, and thoſe of his Anceſtors; they dance but one at a time, while the reſt are ſet on the Ground, and mark the Cadence with an odd Tone, *He, He, He, He*; after which every one riſes and dances in his turn.

The Warriors attempt nothing without the Advice of the Council, which is compoſed of the Old Men of the Nation; that is to ſay, ſuch as are above Sixty: Before they are aſſembled a [10] Cryer gives notice of it through all the Streets in the Village: Then theſe old Old Men run to a certain Cottage deſign'd for that purpoſe, where they ſeat themſelves in a Square Figure; and after they have weigh'd what is propos'd for the benefit of the Nation, the Speaker goes out of the Cottage, and the Young Men get about him, and liſten

with great attention to the Resolves of the Old ones, crying out at the end of every Sentence *That's Good*.<sup>1</sup>

They have several sorts of Dances. The principal is that of the *Calumet*; the rest are the Chiefs or Commanders Dance, the Warriors Dance, the Marriage Dance, and the Dance of the Sacrifice. They differ from one another both in the Cadence and in the

*All these Dances may be compared to Minerva's Pyrrhiche. For while the Savages dance with a Singular Gravity, they humour the Cadences of certain Songs, which Achilles's Malitia called Hyperchematica. I am at a loss to inform you whether the Savages had these Songs from the Grecians, or the Grecians from the Savages.*<sup>2</sup>

Leaps; but 'tis impossible to describe them, for that they have so little resemblance to ours. That of the *Calumet* is the most grave and handsome; but they don't perform that but upon certain Occasions, *viz.* When Strangers pass through their Country, or when their Enemies send Ambassadors to treat of a Peace. If they approach to a Village by Land, when they're ready to enter, they depute one of this Number, who advances, and proclaims, that he brings the *Calumet of Peace*; the rest stopping in the mean time, till he calls to them to come: Then some of the Young Men march out of the

<sup>1</sup>The council is the most important institution of tribal life, and of indigenous growth. For a good description of forms of procedure, and the ceremonies connected therewith, see *Jes. Rel.*, x, pp. 251-263. — ED.

<sup>2</sup>It is needless to say that there was no historical connection between Greek and North American dances and their accompanying songs, save as the development in these lines has a certain similarity among all primitive peoples. The pyrricha was a war dance of Doric origin, performed by men in armor; while the hyporcheme (hyperchematica), allied to the pæan, was one variety of the song or cadence that accompanied the early Greek dances. — ED.



Village, at the Gate of which they form an Oval Figure, and when the Strangers are come up to them, they dance all at a time, forming a Second Oval round him that bears the *Calumet*: This [11] Dance continues half an Hour. Then they receive the Travellers with some Ceremony, and conduct them to a Feast. The Ceremonies are the same to those that come by Water, with this difference, that they send a Canoo to the Foot of the Village, with the *Calumet of Peace*, upon its Prow, in the shape of a Mast, and one comes from the Village to meet 'em.<sup>1</sup> The Dance of War is done in a Circle, during which the Savages are seated on the Ground. He that dances moves from the Right Hand to the Left, singing in the mean time the Exploits of himself and his Ancestors. At the end of every Memorable Action, he gives a great Stroke with a Club upon a Stake plac'd in the middle of the Circle, near certain Players, who beat Time upon a sort of a Kettle-Drum; Every one rises in his turn to sing his Song: And this is commonly practis'd when they go to War, or are come from it.

The greatest Passion of the Savages consists in the Implacable Hatred they bear to their Enemies; that is, all Nations with whom they are at Open War: They value themselves mightily upon their Valour; insomuch that they have scarce any regard to any thing else. One may say, That they are wholly govern'd by Temperament, and their Society is perfect Mechanism. They have neither Laws, Judges, nor Priests; they are naturally inclin'd to Gravity, which makes them very

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<sup>1</sup> The classic description of the calumet dance is that of Marquette; see *Jes. Rel.*, lix, pp. 129-137. — ED.

circumspect in their Words and Actions. They observe a certain Medium between Gayety and Melancholy. The *French* Air they could not away with; and there was none but the younger sort of them that approv'd of our Fashions.

I have seen Savages when they've come a great way, make no other Compliment to the Family than, *I am arriv'd, I wish all of you a great deal of* [12] *Honour*. Then they take their Pipe quietly without asking any Questions: When that's done, they'll say, *Heark'e Friend, I am come from such a Place, I saw such a thing, &c.* When you ask a Question, their Answer is exceeding concise, unless they are Members of the Council; otherwise you'll hear 'em say, *That's Good; That signifies nought; That's admirable; That has Reason in it; That's valiant.*

If you tell a Father of a Family that his Children have signaliz'd themselves against the Enemy, and have took several Slaves, his Answer is short, *That's Good*, without any farther Enquiry. If you tell him his Children are slain, he'll say immediately, *That signifies nought*, without asking how it happen'd? When a Jesuit preaches to them the Truth of the Christian Religion, the Prophecies, Miracles, &c. they return you, a *That's wonderful*, and no more. When the *French* tell them of the Laws of a Kingdom; the Justice, Manners and Customs of the *Europeans*, they'll repeat you a hundred times, *That's reasonable*. If you discourse them upon an Enterprize of great importance, or that's difficult to execute, or which requires much thought, they'll say, *That's Valiant*, without explaining themselves, and will listen to the

end of your Discourse with great attention : Yet 'tis to be observed, when they're with their Friends in private, they'll argue with as much boldness as those of the Council. 'Tis very strange, that having no advantage of Education, but being directed only by the Pure Light of Nature, they should be able to furnish Matter for a Conference which often lasts above three Hours, and which turns upon all manner of Things; and should acquit themselves of it so well, that I never repented the time I spent with these truly Natural Philosophers.

[13] When a Visit is paid to a Savage, at going in you must say, *I am come to see such an one* : Then Fathers, Mothers, Wives, Children go out, or withdraw themselves to an Apartment at one end of the Cottage, and be who you will, come not near you to interrupt your Conversation. The Fashion is for him that is visited, to offer you to eat, drink and smoke ; and one may use an entire freedom with them, for they don't much mind Compliments. If one means to visit a Woman, the Ceremony's the same ; *I am come to see such an one* ; then every Body withdraws, and you tarry alone with her you come to see ; but you must not mention any thing Amorous in the Day time, as I shall inform you else where.

Nothing surpriz'd me more than to observe the Quarrels between their Children at play : A little after they are warm'd, they'll tell one another, *You have no Soul, You're wicked, You're treacherous* : In the mean time their Companions who make a Ring about them, hear all quietly, without taking one side or t'other till they fall to play again : If by chance they come to

Blows, the rest divide themselves into two Companies, and carry the Quarrellers home.

They are as ignorant of *Geography* as of other *Sciences*, and yet they draw the most exact Maps imaginable of the Countries they're acquainted with, for there's nothing wanting in them but the Longitude and Latitude of Places: They set down the True *North* according to the *Pole Star*; The Ports, Harbours, Rivers, Creeks and Coasts, of the Lakes; the Roads, Mountains, Woods, Marshes, Meadows, &c. counting the distances by Journeys and Half-journeys of the Warriors, and allowing to every Journey Five Leagues. These *Chorographical Maps* are drawn upon the Rind of your *Birch Tree*; and when the Old Men hold a Council [14] about War or Hunting, they're always sure to consult them.<sup>1</sup>

The Year of the *Outaouas*, the *Outagamis*, the *Hurons*, the *Sauteurs*, the *Illinois*, the *Oumamis*, and several other Savages, consists of Twelve-Synodical Lunar-Months, with this difference, when Thirty Moons are spent, they add one supernumerary Month to make it up, which they call the *Lost Moon*, and from thence begin their Account again, after the former Method. All these Months have very suitable Names; for Instance; What we name *March*, they call the *Worm-Moon*, for then the Worms quit the Hollow Chops of the Trees where they shelter'd themselves in the Winter. *April* is call'd *the Month of Plants*; *May* of *Flowers* and so of the others. I

<sup>1</sup> For a reproduction of an Indian map drawn by the savage Ochagach see Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Exploration* (New York, 1904), p. 28. Several others are in the atlas (vol. viii) to *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York, 1904). — ED.

say, at the end of these Thirty Months, the next that follows is supernumerary, and not counted; for Example; We'll suppose the Month of *March* to be the Thirtieth Lunar-Month, and consequently, the Last of the *Epocha*. Next that should be counted the Month of *April*; whereas the *Lost Moon* takes place of it, and must be over before they begin their Account again; and this Month with the others, makes about a Year and an half. Because they have no Weeks, they reckon from the First till the Twenty Sixth of these sort of Months, and that contains just that space of time which is between the first appearance of the Moon at Night, till having finish'd its Course, it becomes almost invisible in the Morning; and this they call the Illumination-Month. For Instance; A Savage will say, *I went away the first of the Month of Sturgeons* (that's *August*), *and returned the Twenty-ninth of the Month of Indian-Corn* (the same with our *September*); *and next day*, (which is the last) *I rested my self*. As for the remaining three Days and a half of the *Dead-Moon*, during which 'tis [15] impossible to be discern'd, they give them the Name of the *Naked Days*. They make as little use of Hours as Weeks, having never got the way of making Clocks or Watches; by the help of which little Instruments, they might divide the Natural Day into equal parts.<sup>1</sup> For this Reason, They are forc'd to reckon the Natural Day as well as the Night, by Quarters, Half, and Three-quarters, the Rising and the Setting-Sun, the

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<sup>1</sup> This is a good account of the calendar of the primitive Indians, usually composed of thirteen lunar months. The aborigines of Central America, Mayas and Aztecs, had a more elaborate system. See Thomas, "Maya Calendar," in U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, *Bulletin* No. 18. — ED.

Fore-noon and the Evening. As they have a wonderful Idea of any thing that depends upon the Attention of the Mind, and attain to an Exact Knowledge of many Things by Long Experience: To cross a Forest (for Instance) of a Hundred Leagues in a strait Line, without straying either to the Right or Left; to follow the Tract of a Man or Beast upon the Grass or Leaves: So they know the Hour of the Day and Night exactly, even when it is so cloudy, that neither Sun nor Stars appear. I impute this Talent to a steady command of Mind, which is not natural to any but those whose Thoughts are as little distracted as these Mens are.

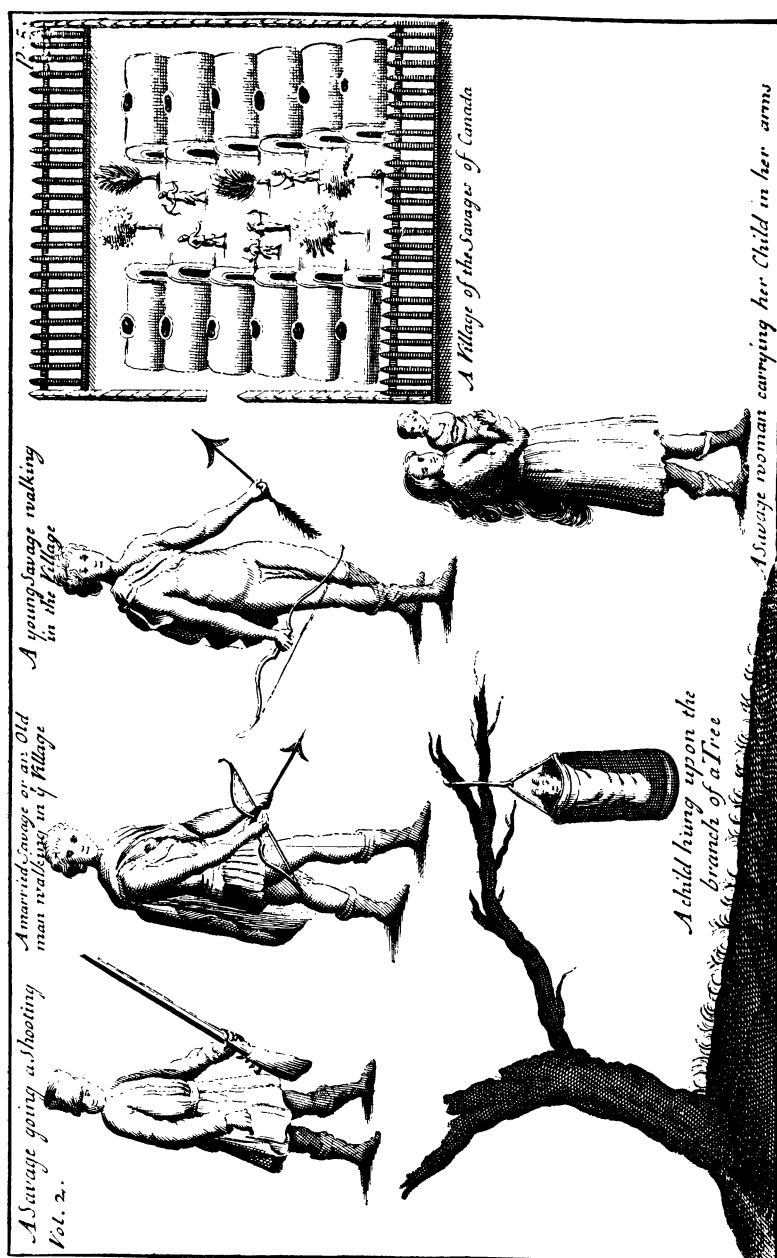
They are more surpriz'd to see some little Problemes of *Geometry* put in Practice, than we would be to see Water turn'd into Wine. They took my *Graphometer* for somewhat Divine, being unable to guess how we could know the distance of Places without measuring them by Cords or Rods, without there were some Supernatural Assistance. *Longimetry* pleas'd them far more than *Altimetry*, because they thought it more necessary to know the breadth of a River, than height of a Tree, &c. I remember one Day in a Village of the *Outaouas* at *Miffilimakinac* a Slave brought into the Cottage where I was, a sort of Vessel made of a thick piece of soft Wood, which he had borrowed on purpose, in which [16] he pretended to preserve Mapletree-Water. All the Savages which saw this Vessel, fell to arguing how much it would hold, and with that view call'd for a Pot, and for Water to determine the matter by Measuring. The humor took me to lay with them a Wager of a Treat, that I could tell the Quantity of

Water that would fill it better than they. So that finding by my Computation, that it held about 248 Pots, or thereabouts, I went to make the Tryal, and made them not a little wonder that it fail'd but one or two Pots; upon which I perswaded them, that the Pots that were wanting were suck'd up by the new Wood.<sup>1</sup> But what was most pleasant they were continually begging me to teach them *Stereometry*, that they might make use of it upon occasion: 'Twas to no purpose to tell them 'twas impossible they should understand it, tho' there were Reasons for't that might convince any body but Savages. They press'd me so much to't that I could not be quiet till I was forc'd to tell them, that no body could do it to Perfection but the Jesuits.

The Savages prefer your little Convex Glasses of two Inches Diameter to any others, because they give but a faint Representation of the Pimples and Bloches upon their Faces. I remember that while I was at *Miffilimakinac*, one of the Pedlars call'd *Coueurs de Bois*, brought a Convex Glass that was pretty large, and consequently represented the Face with some Deformity. All the Savages that saw this Piece of Catoptricks, thought it no less Miraculous than the awaker of a Clock, or a Magical Lantern, or the Spring of a Machine. But what was most Comical, there was among the rest of the Spectators a *Hurone* Girl who told the Pedlar in a jocular way, That *if the Glass had the Vertue of Magnifying [17] the Objects really, as it did in appearance, all her she Companions would give him in Exchange as many Beaver Skins as would make his Fortune.*

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<sup>1</sup>The pot is a French liquid measure equal to 3.29 English pints. — ED.







The Savages have the most happy Memory in the World. They can carry their Memory so far back, that when our Governors or their Deputies treated with them about War, Peace or Trade, and proposed things contrary to what was offer'd Thirty or Forty Years ago; They reply, That the *French* are false, and change their Opinion every Hour, that 'tis so many Years since they said so and so; and to confirm it bring you the Porcelain *Colier* that was given them at that time. You remember I acquainted you in my Seventh Letter, that the *Coliers* are the Symbols of Contracts, without which they conclude no Business of Moment.<sup>1</sup>

They pay an infinite Deverence to Old Age. The Son that Laughs at his Father's Advice shall tremble before his Grandfather. In a Word, they take the Ancient Men for Oracles, and follow their Counsel accordingly. If a Man tell his Son 'tis time he should Marry, or go to the War, or the Hunting, or Shooting! he shall answer carelessly, *Tbat's Valiant, I thought so*. But if his Grandfather tell him so, the Answer is, *Tbat's good, It shall be done*. If by chance they kill a Partridge, a Goose, or Duck, or catch any delicate Fish, they never fail to present it to their oldest Relations.<sup>2</sup>

( The Savages are wholly free from Care; they do nothing but Eat, Drink, Sleep, and ramble about in the Night when

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 76, *ante*. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The evidence upon the deference paid by Indians to old age, is conflicting. The opinions of an elderly chief had especial weight in council; but on the other hand aged people, when infirm, were frequently abandoned or put to death as a useless burden. See *Jes. Rel.*, xx, p. 239; also *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, index. — ED.

they are at their Villages. Having no set Hours for Meals, they Eat when they're hungry; and commonly do it in a large Company, Feasting here and there by turns.) The Women and Girls do the same among themselves, and don't admit any Men into [18] their Company at that time. The Women Slaves are employed to Sow and Reap the *Indian-Corn*; and the Men Slaves have for their Business the Hunting and Shooting where there is any Fatigue, tho' their Masters will very often help them. They have three sorts of Games. Their Game of Counters is purely Numerical, and he that can Add, Subtract, Multiply and Divide best by these Counters is the Winner. This depends purely upon the Mind. Another Game which is Hazard and Chance, is perform'd with eight little Stones, which are Black on one side and White on the other. They're put on a Plate which they lay on the Ground, throwing the little Stones up in the Air, and if they fall so as to turn up the Black side 'tis good luck. The odd number wins, and eight Whites or Blacks wins double, but that happens but seldom. They have a third Play with a Ball not unlike our Tennis, but the Balls are very large, and the Rackets resemble ours, save that the Handle is at least three Foot long. The Savages, who commonly play at it in large Companies of three or four Hundred at a time, fix two Sticks at five or six Hundred Paces distance from each other; They divide into two equal Parties, and toss up the Ball about half way between the two Sticks. Each Party endeavour to toss the Ball to their side; some run to the Ball, and the rest keep at a little distance on both sides to assist on

all Quarters. In fine this Game is so violent that they tear their Skins, and break their Legs very often in striving to raise the Ball. All these Games are made only for Feasts or other trifling Entertainments; for 'tis to be observ'd, that as they hate Money, so they never put it in the Ballance, and one may say, *Interest is never the occasion of Debates among them.*<sup>1</sup>

[19] 'Tis not to be denied but the Savages are a very sensible People, and are perfectly well acquainted with the Interest of their Nations. They are great Moralists, especially when they Criticise on the Manners of the *Europeans*, and are mightily upon their Guard in our Company, unless it be with such as they are intimately acquainted with. In other Matters they are Incredulous and Obstinate to the last degree, and are not able to distinguish between a Chimerical Supposition and an undoubted Truth, or between a fair and a false Consequence, as you'll see in the ensuing Chapter, which treats of their Belief, and in which I assure you you'll meet with very odd Notions.

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<sup>1</sup> Lahontan appears to intimate that the Indians do not gamble for gain; nevertheless, it is well-known that this is one of their strongest passions. The game of ball here described is that known as lacrosse, a modification of which is the present Canadian national game. For description see Thwaites (ed.), "J. Long's Voyages," in *Early Western Travels*, ii, pp. 89, 90. — ED.

*The Belief of the Savages, and the Obstacles of their  
Conversion.*

ALL the Savages are convinc'd that there must be a God, because they see nothing among Material Beings that subsists necessarily and by its own Nature. They prove the Existence of a Deity by the Frame of the Universe, which naturally leads us to a higher and Omnipotent Being, from whence it follows, say they, that Man was not made by chance, and that he's the Work of a Being superior in Wisdom and Knowledge, which they call the *Great Spirit*, or the *Master of Life*, and which they Adore in the most abstracted and spiritual manner. They deliver their Thoughts of him thus, without any satisfactory Definition. The Existence of God being inseparable from his Essence, it contains every thing, it appears in every thing, acts in every thing, and gives motion [20] to every thing. In fine, all that you see, all that you can conceive, is this Divinity which subsists without Bounds or Limits, and without Body; and ought not to be represented under the Figure of an old Man, nor of any other thing, let it be never so fine or extensive. For this Reason they Adore him in every thing they see. When they see any thing that's fine or curious, especially when they look upon the Sun or Stars, they cry out, *O Great Spirit, we discern*

*thee in every thing.* And in like manner when they reflect upon the meanest Trifles they acknowledge a Creator under the Name of the *Great Spirit* or *Master of Life*.<sup>1</sup>

I forgot to tell you that the Savages listen to all the Jesuits Preach to them without the least Contradiction. They content themselves to rail among one another at the Sermons the Fathers make at Church, and if a *Savage* talks freely to a *French-man* he must be fully assur'd of his Discretion and Friendship. I have been frequently much puzzled to answer their impertinent Objections, (for they can make no others in relation to Religion) but I still brought my self off by entreating them to give Ear to the Jesuits. To present you with a view of their Opinion relating to the Immortality of the Soul: They all believe it; but not upon the plea that 'tis one simple substance, and that the Destruction of any Natural Being is accomplish'd by the separation of its Parts; they're Strangers to that Argument. All they urge, is, that if the Soul were Mortal, all Men would be equally Happy in this Life; for God being all Perfection and Wisdom, 'twould be inconsistent

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<sup>1</sup> The religious beliefs and mythologic development of the North American Indian have been much discussed, and but little determined. The evidence of Lahontan is valuable because the Indians with whom he associated were but slightly changed by contact with the European missionaries, and because his own materialistic, skeptical bent of mind divested him of certain preconceptions, and rendered his observation more accurate. His account of the spiritism of the Algonquians corresponds with the latest scientific conclusions as to the mythologic stage attained by the aborigines—that it was neither monotheistic nor pantheistic, but recognized all manifestations of the unseen, yet without sense of personal unity. See Powell, "Mythology of North American Indians," in U. S. Bur. of Eth. *Report*, 1879-80, pp. 17-56; Brinton, *Myths of the New World* (3d ed., Phila., 1896); Dorman, *Origin of Primitive Superstitions among the Aborigines of America* (Phila., 1881). — ED.

with his Nature to create some to be Happy and others to be Miserable. So they prove the Immortality of the Soul by the Hardships of Life to which most Men are [21] expos'd, especially the best of People, when they are Kill'd, Tortur'd, made Prisoners, &c. For they pretend, that by a Conduct somewhat strange to our Apprehension, the Almighty orders a certain number of Creatures to suffer in this World, that they may be sav'd in the next; and upon that score they cannot endure to hear the *Christians* say, Such a one has had the misfortune to be Kill'd, Wounded or made a Slave; and look upon what we call a Misfortune to be only such in Fancy and *Idea*, since nothing comes to pass but by the Decrees of that infinitely perfect Being, whose Conduct cannot be Fantastical or Capricious, as they falsely pretend we Christians think it to be. On the contrary they think those Persons have very good Fortune who are Kill'd, Burnt or taken Prisoners. 'Tis the great unhappiness of these Poor, Blind People, that they will not suffer themselves to be instructed: For their Opinions are not in all respects contrary to the Light of the Gospel. They believe that God for Reasons above our reach makes use of the Sufferings of good People to display his Justice; and in this Point we cannot oppose them, for 'tis one of the Principles of our own Religion: But when they alledge that we look upon the Divinity as a whimsical fantastick Being, are they not under the greatest mistake? The first and supreme cause must be suppos'd to make the wisest choice of means conducing to an end. If then 'tis true, as 'tis a Point of our Belief, that God does permit the Sufferings of the Innocent, 'tis our part to

Adore his Wisdom, and not be so arrogant as to Censure it. One of the Savages that argued the Point with me, alledg'd that we represented the Divinity like a Man that had but a little Arm of the Sea to cross, and rather chose to take a [22] turn of five or six Hundred Leagues about. This Quibble puzzled me a little: *For why, says he, since God can bring Men to Eternal Happiness by rewarding Vertue and Merit, why does not he go that shortest way to Work? Why does he conduct a just Man to the Eternal Beatitude by the path of Sufferings?* Thus 'tis that these poor Savages contradict themselves, and from hence it appears, that *Jesus Christ*, our Lord and Master, is the only Author of such Truths as support themselves, and contain not the least shadow of Contradiction. In a Word, the singular madness of this unfortunate People consists in denying their Assent to any thing but what's visible and probable. This is the standing and true Principle of their Religion, when you consider it abstractedly: But if you ask them in particular why they Adore God in the Sun, rather than in a Tree or a Mountain; their Answer is, That they choose to admire the Deity in publick by pointing to the most glorious thing that Nature affords.<sup>1</sup>

The Jesuits use their utmost Efforts to make them sensible of the Importance of Salvation. They explain to them the Holy Scriptures, and set forth the manner by which the Law of *Christ Jesus* took place in the World, and the change that it wrought. They lay before them the Prophecies, Revelations

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<sup>1</sup> This is in accord with modern conclusions, that the North Americans did not worship the sun, save as a symbol. The fashion of a decade or more ago, to explain most myths as solar in origin, is not to-day held sufficient. — ED.



and Miracles, by which our Religion is inforc'd. But the poor Wretches are such obstinate Infidels, that all the Characters of Truth, Sincerity and Divinity that shine throughout the Scriptures, have no impresson upon them. The greatest length that the good Fathers can bring them to, is to acquiesce after a Savage manner, contrary to what they think. For Instance, when the Jesuits Preach up the Incarnation of *Jesus Christ*, they'l answer, *That's Wonderful*: When the Question is [23] put to them, whether they'l turn Christians, they reply, that *they'l consider of it*. If the secular *Europeans* sollicit them to come to Church to hear the Word of God, they reply, *'Tis reasonable*; the meaning of which is, that they'l come; but at the bottom they have no other design in approaching to the place of Worship, than to snatch away a Pipe of Tobacco, or to Ridicule the good Fathers, as I intimated above: For they have such happy Memories, that I knew ten of my own Acquaintance that had all the Holy Scriptures by Heart.

'Twill be worth your while to hear the thoughts of Reason that come from those People who pass for Beasts among us. They maintain, That a Man ought never to strip himself of the Privileges of Reason, that being the noblest Faculty with which God hath enrich'd him; and That forasmuch as the Religion of the Christians is not put to the test of their Reason, it cannot be but that God ridicul'd them in enjoying them to consult their Reason in order to distinguish Good from Evil. Upon this score they affirm that Reason ought not to be controul'd by any Law, or put under a necessity of approving what it doth not comprehend; and in fine, that what we

call an Article of Faith is an intoxicating Potion to make Reason reel and stagger out of its way ; forso much as the pretended Faith may support Lies as well as the Truth, if we understand by it a readiness to believe without diving to the bottom of things. They pretend that if they had a mind to talk in the Language of the Christians, they might with equal right reject the Arguments propos'd by the Christians against their Opinions, and plead that their Opinions are Incomprehensible Mysteries, and that we must not pretend to fathom the Secrets [24] of the Almighty, which are plac'd so far above our weak reach.

'Tis in vain to remonstrate to them, That Reason gives only a faint and dazzling Light which leads those to a Precipice that trust to its Direction and Conduct : That 'tis a slave to Faith and ought to obey it blindly without disputing, just as an *Iroquese* Captive does his Master. 'Tis needless to represent to them, that the Holy Scriptures can contain nothing that's directly repugnant to right Reason. They make a jest of all such Remonstrances, for they imagine so great a Contradiction between the Scripture and Reason, that they think it impossible for the Advocates of the former to avoid the receiving of very dubious Opinions for certain and evident Truths. Their Prejudice proceeds from this, that they can't be convinc'd, that the Infallibility of the Scripture is to be made out by the Light of Reason. The Word *Faith* is enough to choak them ; they make a Jest of it, and alledge that the Writings of past Ages are false, supposititious and alter'd, upon the Plea that the Histories of our own times are justly liable to the

same Censure. They plead, That a Man must be a Fool who believes that an Omnipotent Being, continued from all Eternity, in a state of Inactivity, and did not think of giving being to Creatures till within these five or six Thousand Years; or that at that time God Created *Adam* on purpose to have him tempted by an evil Spirit to eat of an Apple, and that he occasion'd all the Misery of his Posterity by the pretended transmission of his Sin. They ridicule the Dialogue between *Eve* and the Serpent, alledging that we affront God in supposing that he wrought the Miracle of giving this Animal the use of Speech, with intent to destroy all the Humane Race.

[25] To continue their wild Remonstrances they say, 'Tis 'a thing unheard of, that for the expiation of *Adam's* Sin God 'should put God to Death to satisfy himself; That the Peace 'of the World should be brought about by the Incarnation 'of God and his shameful Death; That his Disciples should 'be ignorant Men that fear'd to dye. This, they say, is still 'the more unaccountable, that the Sin of the first Father hath 'done more harm than the Death of the latter hath done 'good, the Apple having intail'd Death on all Men, whereas 'the Blood of *Jesus* hath not sav'd one half of them. They argue, 'That upon the Humanity of this God the Christians 'build a Religion without a Foundation, which is subject to 'the Changes and Vicissitudes of Humane Affairs. That this 'Religion being divided and subdivided into so many Sects, 'as those of the *French*, the *English*, &c. it can be no other 'than an Human Artifice: For had God been the Author of 'it, his Providence had prevented such diversity of Sentiments

‘by unambiguous Decisions. That if the Evangelical Law  
‘had descended from Heaven it had not contain’d those  
‘obscure Sayings that give rise to the Christian Diffensions;  
‘for that God who foresees what is in the Womb of Futurity  
‘would have deliver’d his Precepts in such clear and precise  
‘terms as would leave no room for Disputes.

‘But supposing (continue they) that this Law descended  
‘from Heaven, which of the Christian Sects must we join with?  
‘For we understand from an infinite number of Christians, that  
‘in some Communions we run the risk of Damnation.’  
The great Article that they stickle most at is the *Incarnation  
of God*. They exclaim against the supposition that the Divine  
[26] Word was shut up for nine Months in the Bowels of a  
Woman, and that the same God came to take up an Earthly  
Body in this World, and carry’d it up to his Seat of Bliss.  
Nay, they carry the thing farther, for they rally upon the  
unevenness and inconstancy of *Christs* Will. Tho’ he came  
into the World to dye, say they, yet it appears that he had no  
mind to it, and that he was affraid to Die. If the Divinity  
and Humanity had made but one Person, he would not have  
needed to pray or ask for any thing; nay, supposing that his  
Divine Nature had not the Ascendant within him, yet he ought  
not to have fear’d Death, in regard that the loss of a Tem-  
poral Life is nothing to one that is assur’d of reviving for  
ever; he knew for certain where he was a going, and conse-  
quently ought to have embrac’d Death more chearfully than  
we do, when we Poyson our selves in order to accompany our  
Relations to the Country of Souls.

They brand St. *Paul* for a Phantaſtical Man, alledging that he contradicts himſelf every Foot, and Reaſons very forrily. They Ridicule the Credulity of the Primitive Chriſtians, whom they look upon as ſimple and ſuperſtitious Creatures; and upon that Head take occaſion to ſay, *That the Apoſtle Paul would have found a great deal of difficulty in perſwading the People of Canada that he was raviſh'd up to the third Heaven.* There's one place of Scripture above all other that they can't digeſt, viz. *Many are called, but few choſen.* Their Comment upon it is this, *God hath ſaid, that many are call'd but few choſen, and what God ſays muſt needs be true. Now, if of three Men only one be ſav'd, and the other two damn'd, then the Condition of a Stag is preferable to that of a Man; Nay, put it upon an even lay, and let there be but one Man damn'd for one ſav'd, even then the Stag hath the better of [27] it.* This Objection was once put to me by the Rat, or the General of the Savages, when I was a Hunting with him. I reply'd, that we ought to endeavour to be in the number of the Choſen by following the Law and the Precepts of *Jeſus Chriſt*. But my Answer did not ſatisſie him, for he ſtill ran upon the great riſque of two Men damn'd for one ſav'd, and that by an immutable Decree. Upon that I refer'd him to the Jeſuits, for I durſt not tell him, That 'twas in his own Power to procure his Election: If I had, he had given me leſs Quarter than he did to St. *Paul*; for in Religious Matters they always ſtick to Probability. This General was not ſo void of good Senſe, but that he could think juſtly and make true Reflections upon Religious Matters; but he was ſo prepoſſeſs'd with an Opinion, that the Chriſtian Faith was

contrary to Reason, that all the Attempts I made could not convince him of the contrary. When I laid before him the Revelations of *Moses* and the Prophets, the universal Consent of almost all Nations in owning and acknowledging *Jesus Christ*, the Martyrdom of his Disciples and of the Primitive Christians, the perpetual Succession of our Sacred Oracles, the entire Destruction of the *Jewish* Republick, and the Destruction of *Jerusalem* foretold by our Saviour; he ask'd me if my Father or my Grandfather had seen all these Events, and whether I was so credulous as to take our Scriptures for Truth, since the Histories of Countries writ but t'other Day are found to be Fabulous. He added, That the *Faith* which the Jesuits beat their Brains about imported no more than to be perswaded of a thing either by seeing it with their Eyes, or by finding it recommended by clear and solid Proofs; That these Fathers and I were so far from convincing them of the truth of our [28] Mysteries, that we only cover'd their Thoughts with Obscurity and Darknefs.

Such, Sir, is the Obstinacy and prepossession of this People. I flatter my self that this short view of their Notions may divert you without Offence. I know that you are too well confirm'd and rivetted in our most Holy Faith, to receive any dangerous Impression from their impious Advances. I assure my self that you will joyn with me in bemoaning the deplorable state of these ignorant Wretches. Let us jointly admire the depth of the Divine Providence, which permits those Nations to entertain such an Aversion to our Divine Truths; and in the mean time let us make the best use of the unde-

serv'd Advantage we have over them. Give me leave to acquaint you with the Reflections that these same Savages make upon our Conduct when they confine themselves to the Subject of Morality. *The Christians*, say they, *contemn the Precepts of the Son of God, they make a Jest of his Prohibitions, and doubt of the Sincerity of his Expressions; for they counteract his Orders without intermission, and rob him of the Worship which he claims as his due, by paying it to Silver, to Beavers, and to their own Interest. They murmur against Heaven and him when things go cross with them; they go about their usual Business on such Days as are set apart for Works of Piety and Devotion, and spend both that and the other parts of their time in Gaming, Drinking to excess, Fighting and Scolding. Instead of Comforting their Parents they leave them for a Sacrifice to Hunger and Misery, and not only deride their Counsel, but wish impatiently for their Death. In the Night time, all of them, barring the Jesuits, roll from House to House to debauch the Women Savages. They Murder one another every Day upon the Plea of Theft or Affronts, or upon the score of Women; they Pillage and Rob one another without [29] any regard to the ties of Blood or Friendship, as often as they meet with an opportunity of doing it with impunity. They bespatter and defame one another with outrageous Calumnies; and make no scruple to lye when they find 'twill serve their Interest. They are not satisfied with the Company of single Women, but debauch other Mens Wives; and these Adulterous Women bring forth in the absence of their Husbands a spurious Off-spring, that are at a loss to know their Fathers. In fine, (continue they) though the Christians are so docile as to believe the Humanity of God, which is the most unrea-*

*sonable Article that can be ; yet they seem to doubt of his Precepts, and incessantly transgress them, notwithstanding they are very pure and reasonable.* I should never come to an end, if I enter'd into the Particulars of their Savage way of Reasoning ; and for that reason 'twill be more proper to take leave of this Subject, and pass directly to the manner of Worship which they offer to their great Spirit or God, call'd *Kitchi Manitou*. A view of that will be more agreeable than the tedious Series of this sort of Philosophy, which at the bottom is but too true, and affords matter of Grief to all good Souls that are perswaded of the Truth of Christianity.



*The way of Worship, used by the Savages.*

**B**EFORE we launch out into the particulars of their Worship, 'twill be proper to remark that the Savages give the name of *Genius* or *Spirit* to all that furpasse their Understanding, and proceeds from a cause that they cannot trace. Some of these Spirits they take to be Good, and some Bad ; of the former sort are the Spirit of [30] Dreams, the *Michibichi* mentioned in my list of Animals, a *Solar Quadrant*, an *Alarm Watch*, and an infinity of other things that seem to them to be inconceivable. Of the latter sort are *Thunder*, *Hail falling upon their Corn*, a *great Storm*, and in a word every thing that tends to their Prejudice, and proceeds from a cause that they are ignorant of. If a *Fusée* burst either through the fault of the Metal, or by being over Loaded, and Maims a Man, they'll tell you there was an Evil Spirit lodg'd within it. If by chance the Branch of a Tree put out a Mans Eye, the effect is owing to an Evil Spirit ; If a sudden gust of Wind surprises 'em in a *Canow* about the middle of their Passage across the Lakes, 'tis an Evil Spirit that disturbs the Air ; if the dregs of any Violent Distemper robs a Man of his Reason, 'tis an Evil Spirit that Torments him. These Evil Spirits they call *Matchi Manitous*, and *Gold* and *Silver* they list into that

number.<sup>1</sup> However, 'tis to be observ'd that they talk of these Spirits in a Bantering way, or much after the same manner that our shrewd *Europeans* rally upon *Magicians* and *Sorcerers*.

Here I cannot forbear to repeat once more that the Historical Accounts of *Canada*, are as scarce as the Geographical Maps of that Country; for I never met with a true one but once, and that in the hands of a *Quebec* Gentleman, the Impression of which was afterwards Prohibited at *Paris*, but for what reason I know not. I mention this with regard to their opinion of the *Devil*; for it is alledg'd that the Savages are acquainted with the *Devil*. I have read a thousand Ridiculous Stories Writ by our Clergymen, who maintain that the Savages have conferences with him, and not only consult him, but pay him a sort of Homage. Now all these advances are ridiculous; for in earnest, the *Devil* never appear'd to these *Americans*. [31] I ask'd an infinity of Savages whether the *Devil* was ever seen among 'em in the shape of a Man or any other Animal; I likewise consulted upon this head the ingeniousest of their Mountebanks or Jugglers, who are a very Comical sort of Fellows (as you shall hear anon;) and it may be reasonably presum'd that if ever the *Devil* appear'd to 'em, they had been sure to have told me of it. In fine, after using all possible means for a perfect knowledg of this matter; I concluded that these Ecclesiasticks did not understand the true

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<sup>1</sup> Brinton considers that the idea of dualism of spirits, so far as ethical qualities were concerned, was borrowed from Europeans; the Indians believed in benevolent and mischievous spirits, not because of a moral nature, but because of the effect upon their own lives. — ED.

importance of that great word *Matchi Manitou*, (which signifies an *Evil Spirit*, *Matchi* being the word for *Evil* and *Manitou* for *Spirit*;) For by the *Devil* they understand such things as are offensive to 'em, which in our Language comes near to the signification of Misfortune, Fate, Unfavourable Destiny, &c. So that in speaking of the *Devil* they do not mean that Evil Spirit that in *Europe* is represented under the figure of a Man, with a long Tail and great Horns and Claws.<sup>1</sup>

The Savages never Offer Sacrifices of Living Creatures to the *Kitchi Manitou*; for their common Sacrifices upon that occasion are the Goods that they take from the *French* in exchange for *Beavers*. Several persons of good Credit have inform'd me, that in one day they Burnt at *Miffilimakinac*, Fifty Thousand Crowns worth of such Goods. I never saw so Expensive a Ceremony, my self: But let that be as it will, the particular circumstances of the Sacrifice are these. The Air must be Clear and Serene, the Weather Fair and Calm; and then every one brings his Offering and laies it upon the Wood-Pile: When the Sun mounts higher the Children make a Ring round the Pile, with pieces of Bark Lighted, in order to set it on Fire; and the Warriours Dance and [32] Sing round 'em till the whole is Burnt and Consumed, while the Old Men make their Harangues address'd to the *Kitchi Man-*

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<sup>1</sup> Lahontan's skeptical instincts revolted against the prevalent idea that all the gods of the savages were some manifestation of the devil — a conception that vitiates many of the recorded observations of Indian myths in the *Jesuit Relations*. On this subject see Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, pp. 75–82. The Moravian missionaries asserted that the aborigines “seem to have had no idea of the *Devil*, as the Prince of Darkness, before the Europeans came into the country;” — Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren* (London, 1794), i, p. 34. — ED.

*itou*, and present him from time to time with Pipes of Tobacco Lighted at the Sun. These Dances, Songs and Harangues last till Sun set, only they allow themselves some intervals of Rest, in which they sit down and Smoak at their Ease.

It remains only (before I make an end of this *Chapter*) to repeat the very Words of their Harangues pronounc'd by the Old Fellows, and of the Songs sung by the Warriors: 'Great Spirit, Master of our Lives; Great Spirit, Master of 'all Things both Visible and Invisible; Great Spirit, Master 'of other Spirits, whether good or Evil; command the Good 'Spirits to favour thy Children, the *Outaouas*, &c. Command 'the Evil Spirits to keep at a distance from 'em. O Great 'Spirit, keep up the Strength and Courage of our Warriors, 'that they may be able to stem the fury of our Enemies: Preserve the Old Persons, whose Bodies are not quite wasted, 'that they may give Counsel to the Young. Preserve our 'Children, enlarge their Number, deliver 'em from Evil 'Spirits, to the end that in our old Age they may prove our 'Support and Comfort; preserve our Harvest and our Beasts, 'if thou mean'st that we should not die for Hunger: Take 'care of our Villages, and guard our Huntsmen in their Hunting Adventures. Deliver us from all Fatal Surprizes, when 'thou cease'st to vouchsafe us the Light of the Sun, which 'speaks thy Grandeur and Power. Acquaint us by the Spirit 'of Dreams, with what thy Pleasure requires of us, or prohibits us to do. When it pleases thee to put a Period to 'our Lives, send us to the great Countrey of Souls, where we 'may meet with those of our Fathers, our Mothers, our

'Wives, [33] our Children, and our other Relations. O  
'Great Spirit, Great Spirit, hear the Voice of the Nation, give  
'ear to all thy Children, and remember them at all times.

As for the Songs which the Warriors sing till Sun set, they  
are to this purpose: 'Take heart, the Great Spirit vouchsafes  
'such a Glorious Sun; Cheer up my Brethren: How great  
'are his Works! How fine is the Day! this Great Spirit is  
'all Goodness; 'tis he that sets all the Springs in motion;  
'he ruleth over all: He is pleas'd to hear us; Let us cheer up  
'my Brethren, we shall subdue our Enemies: Our Fields shall  
'bear Corn; our Hunting shall succeed well; we shall all of  
'us keep our Health; the Old Persons shall rejoice, the Chil-  
'dren shall increase, and the Nation shall prosper. But now  
'the Great Spirit leaves us, his Sun withdraws, he has seen the  
'*Outaouas*, &c. 'Tis done, ay, 'tis done; the Great Spirit is  
'satisfied; my Brethren let us pluck up a good heart.

We must remark, that the Women likewise make Addresses  
to him, and that commonly when the Sun rises; upon which  
Occasion they present and hold up their Children to that Lu-  
minary. When the Sun is almost down, the Warriors march  
out of the Village, to dance the Dance of the Great Spirit.  
But after all, there is no Day or Time fix'd for these Sacrifices,  
no more than for the Particular Dances.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The method and manner of sacrifice among the more barbarous North American Indians is a study strewn with difficulties. There are traces of human sacrifice among nearly all the tribes (see Dorman, *Primitive Superstitions*, pp. 208-213; *Jes. Rel.*, x, 159-167), but Lahontan is doubtless correct in asserting that it was not usual. Dogs were frequently sacrificed to the dead or departing spirits; but the more ordinary offerings were food and tobacco, and there does not appear to have been any fixed time for or form of sacrificial ceremonial. — ED.

[34] *An Account of the Amours and Marriages of the Savages.*

I COULD recount a thousand Curious Things relating to the Courtship, and the way of Marrying among the Savages; but the Relation of so many Particulars, would be too tedious; for which Reason I shall only confine my self to what is most essential to that Subject.

It may be justly said, That the Men are as cold and indifferent as the Girls are passionate and warm. The former love nothing but War and Hunting, and their utmost Ambition reaches no farther. When they are at home, and have nothing to do, they run with the Match; that is, they are Night-walkers. The Young Men do not marry till they are Thirty Years of Age, for they pretend that the Enjoyment of Women does so enervate 'em, that they have not the same measure of Strength to undergo great Fatigues, and that their Hams are too weak for long Marches, or quick Pursuits: In pursuance of this Thought, 'tis alledged, That those who have married, or strolled in the Nights too often, are taken by the *Iroquese*, by reason of the Weakness of their Limbs, and the decay of their Vigour. But after all, we must not imagine that they live chaste till that Age; for they pretend that Excessive Continence occasions Vapours, Disorders of the Kidneys, and a

Suppression of Urine; so that 'tis necessary for their Health to have a Run once a Week.

If the Savages were capable of being subjected to the Empire of Love, they must needs have an Extraordinary Command of themselves to disguise [35] the Just Jealousie they might have of their Mistresses, and at the same time to carry it fair with their Rivals. I know the Humour of the Savages better than a great many *French* People that have liv'd among 'em all their Life-time; for I study'd their Customs so narrowly and exactly, that all their Conduct of Life is as perfectly well known to me, as if I had been among 'em all my Life-time: And 'tis this Exact Knowledge that prompts me to say, That they are altogether Strangers to that Blind Fury which we call Love. They content themselves with a Tender Friendship, that is not liable to all the Extravagancies that the Passion of Love raises in such Breasts as harbour it: In a word, they live with such Tranquility, that one may call their Love Simple Goodwill, and their Discretion upon that Head is unimaginable. Their Friendship is firm, but free of Transport; for they are very careful in preserving the Liberty and Freedom of their Heart, which they look upon as the most valuable Treasure upon Earth: From whence I conclude that they are not altogether so savage as we are.

(The Savages never quarrel among themselves, neither do they reproach or affront one another; One man among them is as good as another, for all are upon the same Level.) They have no Disorders occasion'd by a Girl or a Wife, for the Women are Wife, and so are their Husbands: The Girls

indeed are a little foolish, and the Young Men play the fool with them not unfrequently: But then you must consider that a Young Woman is allow'd to do what she pleases; let her Conduct be what it will, neither Father nor Mother, Brother nor Sister can pretend to controul her. A Young Woman, say they, is Master of her own Body, and by her Natural Right of Liberty is free to do what she pleases. But on the other [36] hand the Married Women being allow'd the Priviledge of quitting their Husbands when they please, had as good be dead as be guilty of Adultery. In like manner, the Husbands being entituled to the same Priviledge, would look upon themselves as infamous, if they were faithless to their Wives.

(Nothing of Intrigue or Courtship must be mention'd to the Savage Ladies in the Day time, for they will not hear it; they'll tell you the Night-time is the most proper season for that) infomuch that if a Youth should by chance accost a Girl in the Day-time, after this manner, *I love thee more than the Light of the Sun* (such is their Phrase) *listen to what I say*, &c. she would give him some Affront, and withdraw. This is a general Rule, that whoever designs to win the Affection of a Girl, must speak to her in the Day-time, of things that lie remote from the Intrigues of Love. One may converse with them privately as long as he will, and talk of a thousand Adventures that happen every minute, upon which they make their Replies very pleasantly; for you cannot imagine what a Gay and Jovial Temper they are of; they are very apt to laugh, and that with a very engaging Air. 'Tis at these Pri-



vate Interviews that the Savages smell out the Young Womens Thoughts; for though the Subject of their Discourse is of an Indifferent Strain, yet they talk over nicer Subjects in the Language of their Eyes. After a Young Man has paid two or three Visits to his Mistrefs, and fancies that she has look'd upon him with a favourable Eye, he takes the following Course to know the Truth of the Matter.

You must take notice, that forasmuch as the Savages are Strangers to *Meum* and *Tuum*, to Superiority and Subordination; and live in a State of [37] Equality pursuant to the Principles of Nature; they are under no apprehension of Robbers or Secret Enemies, so that their Huts are open Night and Day. You must know farther, that Two Hours after Sun-set, the Old Superannuated Persons, or the Slaves (who never lie in their Masters Huts) take care to cover up the Fire before they go. 'Tis then that the Young Savage comes well wrapt up to his Mistrefs's Hut, and lights a sort of a Match at the Fire; after which he opens the Door of his Mistresses Apartment, and makes up to her Bed: If she blows out the Light, he lies down by her; but if she pulls her Covering over her Face, he retires; that being a Sign that she will not receive him. The Young Women drink the Juice of certain Roots, which prevents their Conception, or kills the Fruit of the Womb; for if a Girl proves with Child, she'll never get a Husband. They'll suffer any body to sit upon the Foot of their Bed, only to have a little Chat; and if another comes an hour after, that they like, they do not stand to grant him their last Favours. As to this Custom, which indeed is singular,

the most sensible Savages gave this Reason for it, That they will not depend upon their Lovers, but remove all ground of Suspicion both from the one and the other, that so they may act as they please.

The Savage Women like the *French* better than their own Countrymen, by reason that the former are more prodigal of their Vigour, and mind a Woman's Business more closely. In the mean time the Jesuits use all Efforts to prevent their keeping Company with the *French*: They have Superannuated Fellows placed in all the Huts, who, like Faithful Spies, give an Account of all that they see or hear. The *French* who have the Misfortune to be discover'd, are publicly nam'd [38] in the Pulpit, complain'd of to the Bishop and the Governor General, excommunicated, and treated as Transgressors of the Law: But after all the Artifices and Opposition of the Good Fathers, a great many Intrigues are carried on in the Villages, that they know nothing of. The Jesuits never offer to check the Young Savages for keeping company with Girls; for if they offer'd to censure their Conduct, and use 'em with the same liberty as they do the *French*, they would tell 'em roundly, that they're sorry the Fathers have a mind to their Mistresses. This was the Answer that a Young *Huron* spoke aloud one day in the Church, when a Jesuit addressing himself to him, was preaching down the Night-Rambles of the Savages with an Apostolical Freedom.

This People cannot conceive that the *Europeans*, who value themselves upon their Sense and Knowledge, should be so blind and so ignorant as not to know that Marriage in their

way is a source of Trouble and Uneasiness. To be engag'd for one's Life time, to them is matter of Wonder and Surprise. They look upon it as a monstrous thing to be tied one to another without any hopes of being able to untie or break the Knot. In fine, in spite of all the Reasons and Arguments that that Subject affords, they lay down this for a firm and unmoveable Truth, that we *Europeans* are born in Slavery, and deserve no other Condition than that of Servitude.

In our Country, their state of Marriage would be justly look'd upon as a Criminal way of Conversation. A Savage (for Instance) that has signalis'd himself several times in the Field, and acquir'd the Reputation of a brave Warrior, hath a mind to Marry by the means of a Contract, or rather a Lease of Thirty Years, with the hopes of seeing in his old Age a Family descended [39] of himself, that shall provide for him. This Hero looks out for an agreeable Girl, and after he and she have settled the matter, they reveal their Design to their Relations, who at the same time cannot oppose it, but are oblig'd to consent, and to assist at the Ceremony. They meet together in the Hut of the ancientest Relation or Parent, where a Feast is prepar'd on a Day fix'd for that purpose. Upon such Occasions the Company is very numerous, and the Table is cover'd with all manner of Dainties in a very prodigal manner; and those who assist at the Festival, Dance and Sing, and perform the other Diversions of the Country. After the Feasting and Merry-making is over, all the Relations of the Bridegroom retire, excepting four of the oldest, after which the Bride, accompany'd with four of her ancient-

est Female Relations, appears at one of the Doors of the Hut, and is receiv'd by the most decrepit Man of the Bridegroom's Company, who conducts her to the Bridegroom at a certain place, where the two Parties stand upright upon a fine Mat, holding a Rod between them, while the old Men pronounce some short Harangues. In this Posture do the two married Persons Harangue one after another, and Dance together, singing all the while, and holding the Rod in their Hands, which they afterwards break into as many pieces as there are Witnesses to the Ceremony, in order to be distributed among them. This done, the Bride is reconducted out of the Hut, where the young Women stay for her to accompany her to her Father's Apartment, and the Bridegroom or married Man is oblig'd to go there to find her when he has a mind to her Company, till such time as she brings forth a Child; then, indeed, she conveys her Cloaths [40] to her Husbands Apartment, and continues with him till the Marriage is dissolv'd.<sup>1</sup>

'Tis allowable both for the Man and the Woman to part when they please. Commonly they give one another eight Days Warning; sometimes they offer Reasons to justify their Conduct, but for the most part the usual Plea is, that they are sick and out of order, and that Repose is more proper for them than the fatigue of a married Life. Then the little

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<sup>1</sup> Lahontan's account of courtship, and the ceremony of marriage, is more extended than those of other early travellers; he does not, however, mention a prominent feature of the transaction, the presents given to the father of the bride, constituting a sort of wife-purchase. See *Jes. Rel.*, iii, p. 99; lxviii, pp. 141-145. Long and Grant, early English traders among the Chippewa, give interesting details of courtship and marriage in that tribe. See Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, ii, pp. 173-175; Masson, *Bourgeois*, ii, pp. 319-321. — ED.

pieces of the Rod that were distributed among the Relations of the married Persons, are brought into that Hut in which the Marriage was Solemniz'd, and burnt in their Presence. You must observe that this Separation is accomplish'd without any Dispute or Quarrel. Both the Men and the Women thus unmarried may be marry'd again to whom they please: But commonly they lie by three or six Months before they consummate their second Marriage. When this Separation happens the Children are divided equally between them, for the Children are the Treasure of the Savages. If their number be odd the Woman hath the better half.

Though they are at their liberty to change, yet there are several Savages that live all their Life time with one Woman. I gave you to know above, that during the whole course of their married State they maintain an inviolable Fidelity to one another: But, which is yet more Edifying, as soon as the Woman is declar'd to be with Child, both she and her Bedfellow abstain from Enjoyment, and observe an exact course of Continence from thence to the thirtieth Day after her Child-birth. When a Woman is ready to lye in, she withdraws to a certain Hut allotted for that use, being attended by her she Slaves, who serve and assist her as far as they can. In [41] fine, the Female Sex in this Country deliver themselves without the assistance of Midwives; for they bring forth their Children with a facility that the *European* Women can scarce have any Notion of, and they never lye in above two or three Days. They observe a sort of Purification for thirty Days if the Child be a Boy, and for forty if it be a Girl, and till that

time is expir'd they do not return to their Husband's Apartment.

As soon as their Children come into the World they dip them in warm Water up to the Chin, after which they swathe them down upon little Boards or Planks stuffed with Cotton, where they lye upon their Backs, as I insinuated under the Head of the *Habit, Houses, &c. of the Savages*. They never make use of Nurfs unless it be when the Mothers are out of order, and they never wean their Children, but suckle them so long as they have Milk, with which indeed they are very plentifully provided.

The Women have no opportunity of Marriage after the Fiftieth Year of their Age; for the Men of the like Age alledge, that since they cannot then bear Children, 'twould be a piece of Folly to meddle with them; and the young Sparks affirm, that their wither'd Beauty has not force enough to Charm them, at a time when there is no scarcity of Buxsome young Girles. In this Distress, when the young Men will not use them as Mistresses, and Men of riper Years refuse them for Wives, if their Complexion be any thing Amorous, they are forc'd to adopt some Prisoner of War that is presented them, in order to answer their pressing Necessities.

When the Husband or Wife comes to dye, the Widowhood does not last above six Months; and if in that space of time the Widow or Widower [42] dreams of their deceas'd Bedfellow, they Poyson themselves in cold Blood with all the Contentment imaginable; and at the same time sing a sort of tune that one may safely say proceeds from the Heart. But

if the surviving Party dreams but once of the Deceased, they say, that the Spirit of Dreams was not fure that the dead Person was uneasie in the Country of Souls, forasmuch as he only pass'd by without returning, and for that reason they think they are not oblig'd to go keep him Company.<sup>1</sup>

(These Savages are incapable of Jealousy; that is a Passion they know nothing of. They jeer the *Europeans* upon that head; and brand a man's distrust of his Wife, for a piece of manifest Folly;) as if, say they, we were not certain that 'tis impossible for so weak an Animal to be true to its promises. To pursue their fallacious way of arguing, they alledge that suspicion is only a doubt, and that to doubt of what one sees is an argument of Blindness and Folly; and in fine, that 'tis impossible, but that the constraint and perpetuity that attends our Marriages, or the bait of Gold and Silver, should oblige a Woman when Cloy'd with one and the same Husband, to whet her Appetite in the Embraces of another Man. I am fully convinced that a Savage would chuse rather to suffer Mutilation than to Embrace his Neighbours Wife. Nor is the Chastity of the the Savages less nice, for I do not believe that in the space of Fifty Years there has been one Instance among 'em of the Invasion of another Man's Bed.<sup>2</sup> 'Tis true

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<sup>1</sup> The influence of dreams is one of the most marked superstitions of the Indians. They are regarded as divine intimations, whose suggestions must be followed even to the extent of suicide and death. The influence of "medicine men" was largely perpetuated by means of this belief in dreams. See *post.* — ED

<sup>2</sup> Among the Western Indians adultery was punished by mutilation, and even by death. Consult *Jes. Rel.*, xlv, p. 237; liv, p. 187; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 362, 375; Thwaites, *Hennepin's New Discovery*, pp. 482, 483. — ED.

the *French*, being incapable to distinguish between the Married and Unmarried Women, sometimes make their Address to the former, when they find them alone in the Woods, or when they walk out into the Fields; but upon such occasions they always receive this Answer; [43] *The Fiend which is before mine Eyes binds me to see thee.*

(The Savages go always by the Mothers Name.) To make this plain by an example: the Leader of the Nation of *Hurons*, who is called *Sastaretsi*,<sup>1</sup> being Married to a Daughter of another *Huron* Family, by whom he has several Children, that General's Name is extinct at his Death, for that his Children assume the Name of the Mother. Now, it may be ask'd how the Name of *Sastaretsi* has been kept up for the space of Seven or Eight Hundred Years among that People, and is likely to continue to future Ages? But the Question is easily Answered, if we consider, that the Sister of this *Sastaretsi* being Married to another Savage, whom we shall call *Adario*, the Children springing from that Marriage, will be called *Sastaretsi* after the Mother, and not *Adario* after this Father. When I asked them the Reason of the Custom, they replied, that the Children having received their Soul from their Father, and their Body from their Mother, 'twas but

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<sup>1</sup> The family of Sastaretsi were the hereditary chiefs of the nation of the Tobacco or Petun Hurons (see p. 54, note 2, *ante*). They belonged to the deer clan (or totem) of this tribe, and exercised their authority until 1794, when, at Wayne's battle of Fallen Timbers, this clan was almost annihilated. A chieftain of this name treated with the French in 1682 (*N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, p. 178); another died at Quebec in 1746, and by that means precipitated the Huron revolt under Chief Nicholas (see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii). The Sastaretsi were commonly faithful to the French alliance. — ED.



reasonable that the Maternal Name should be perpetuated. I represented to them I do not know how often, that God alone was the only Creator of Souls, and that it was more reasonable to derive the original of that Custom from the certainty that they had of the Mother beyond that of the Father; but they positively affirmed that this reason was absurd, without offering any proof.<sup>1</sup>

When a Woman has lost a Husband that leaves Brothers who are Batchelours, one of these Marries the Widow Six Months after his Death. The same is the Case with the Sisters of a Wife; for when a Married Woman Dies, commonly one of the Sisters supplies her place. But you must take notice that this Custom is only observed by the Savages that pretend to be Wiser than their [44] Neighbours. Some Savages continue Batchelours to their Dying day, and never appear either at Hunting or in Warlike Expeditions, as being either Lunatick or Sickly: But at the same time they are as much esteem'd as the Bravest and Hailest Men in the Country, or at least if they rally upon 'em, 'tis never done where they are present. Among the *Illinese* there are several Hermaphrodites, who go in a Woman's Habit, but frequent the Company of both Sexes.<sup>2</sup> These *Illinese* are strangely given to Sodomy, as well as the other Savages that live near the River *Mississipi*.

<sup>1</sup> This custom of naming children was used in support of the theory of mütterrecht as a basis of ancient family institutions. See Morgan, *Ancient Society* (New York, 1877); McLennan, *Patriarchal Theory* (London, 1885). — ED.

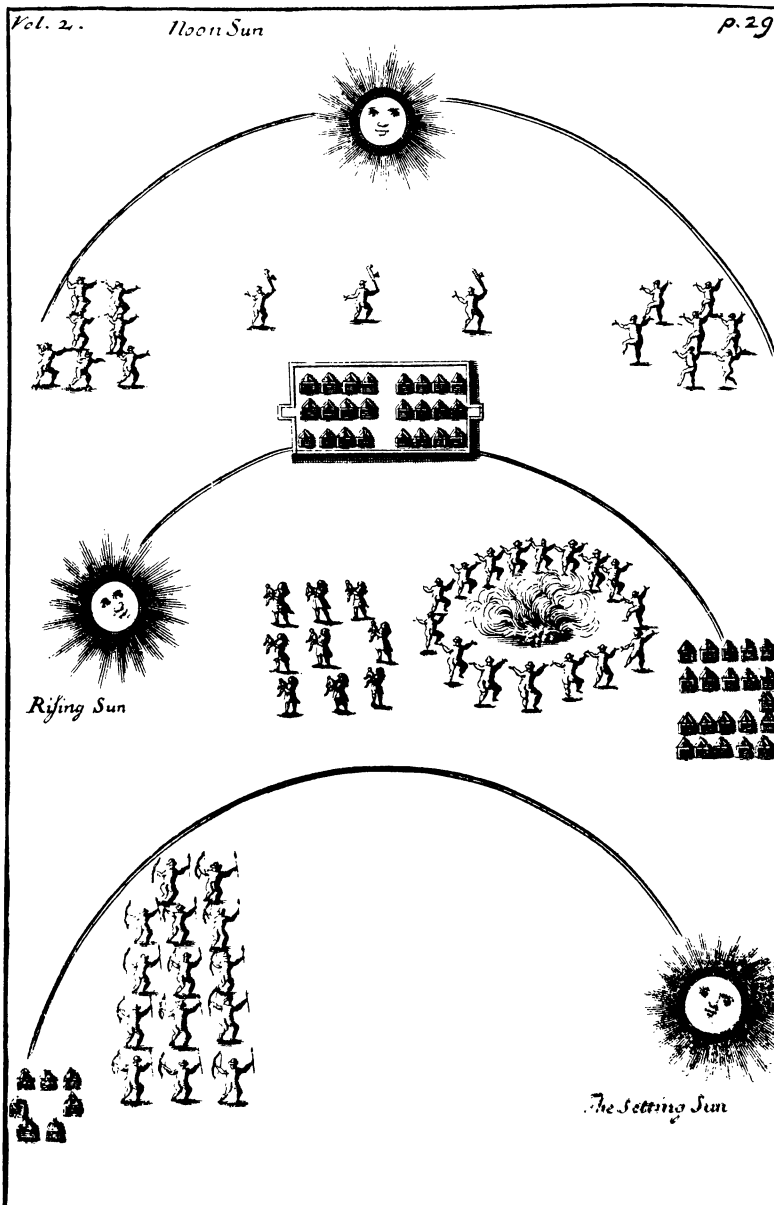
<sup>2</sup> See Marquette's description of the class called "berdashes," in *Jes. Rel.*, lix, pp. 129, 309, 310. — ED.

This, Sir, is all that I could learn of the way of Marriage and the Amours of the *Americans*; who are so far from giving a full loose to their Venereal Appetite, that they always act with a command over themselves, being very moderate in their Adventures with Women, whom they make use of only for the Propagation of their Families and the Preservation of their Health. Their Conduct upon this Head may serve for a just Reprimand to the *Europeans*.

I observ'd before, that if once a Girl proves with Child, she never gets a Husband; but I ought to have added that some young Women will not hear of a Husband, through a principle of Debauchery. That sort of Women are call'd *Ickoue ne Kiouffa*, i. e. *Hunting Women*: for they commonly accompany the Huntsmen in their Diversions. To justify their Conduct, they alledge that they find themselves to be of too indifferent a temper to brook the Conjugal yolk, to be too careless for the bringing up of Children, and too impatient to bear the passing of the whole Winter in the Villages. Thus it is, that they cover and disguise their Lewdness. Their Parents or Relations dare not censure their Vicious Conduct; on the contrary they seem to approve of it, in [45] declaring, as I said before, that their Daughters have the command of their own Bodies and may dispose of their Persons as they think fit; they being at their liberty to do what they please. In short, the Children of these Common Women are accounted a Lawful Issue, and intitled to all the Privileges of other Children; abating for one thing, namely, that the noted Warriours or Counsellours will not accept of 'em for their

Sons in Law, and that they cannot enter into Alliance with certain Ancient Families; though at the same time these Families are not possessed of any peculiar Right or Preheminence. The *Jesuits* do their utmost to prevent the Lewd Practices of these Whores, by Preaching to their Parents that their Indulgence is very disagreeable to the Great Spirit, that they must answer before God for not confining their Children to the measures of Continency and Chastity, and that a Fire is Kindled in the other World to Torment 'em for ever, unless they take more care to correct Vice.

To such Remonstrances the Men reply, *That's Admirable*; and the Women usually tell the Good Fathers in a deriding way, *That if their Threats be well grounded, the Mountains of the other World must consist of the Ashes of souls.*





*A View of the Diseases and Remedies of the Savages.*

THE *Savages* are a robust and vigorous sort of People, of a Sanguine Temperament, and an admirable Complexion. They are unacquainted with a great many Diseases that afflict [46] the *Europeans*, such as the *Gout*, *Gravel*, *Dropsy*, &c. Their Health is firm, notwithstanding that they use no precaution to preserve it; for on the contrary one would think that they weaken themselves by the Violent Exercises of Dancing, Hunting, and Warlike-Expeditions, in which they have frequent returns of Heats and Colds in one day, which in *Europe* would occasion a Mortal Distemper. Sometimes indeed they are seized with *Plurisies*, but these are as unfrequent as they are mortal; for this is the only Distemper that all their Remedies cannot conquer. The *Small-Pox* are as common in the *North of Canada*, as the *Great-Pox* are to the *Southward*: in the Winter time the *Small-Pox* is very dangerous, by reason of the difficulty of respiration; but notwithstanding that 'tis mortal, the *Savages* matter it so little, that when 'tis upon 'em, they walk about from Hut to Hut, if they are able; or if they have not strength to walk, are carried about by their Slaves. In the *Illinese* Country, and near the *Mississipi*, the *Venereal Distemper* is very common. I remember, that in the Interview I had with the *Akanfas* upon that great

River, at the Mouth of the *Missouris* (as I said in my Sixteenth Letter) I saw a Savage, who uncovering himself, shew'd me part of his Body, that was ready to fall off, through Rottenness; at that time he was busy'd in boiling Roots, and after I had ask'd him the use of 'em, he gave me to understand by his Interpreter, that he hop'd to be cur'd in a Months time, by drinking the Juice of these Roots, and eating constantly the Broth or Decoction of Meat and Fish.

Brandy makes a terrible havock among the People of *Canada*, for those who drink it are much more numerous than those who have the power to abstain from it. That Liquor, which of it self is murdering stuff, and which is brew'd and adulterated [47] before 'tis imported into this Country, sweeps off men so fast, that one who has not seen the fatal effects of it can scarce credit 'em: It extinguishes their Natural Heat, and throws almost all of 'em into that Languishing Disorder, which we call a *Consumption*: They look pale, livid and ghastly like Skeletons.<sup>1</sup> Their Feasts are the bane and entire ruine of their Stomacks, as being nothing but plentiful Entertainments, at which they value themselves upon leaving nothing.<sup>2</sup> They pretend, that by vertue of their drinking great quantities of Water and Broth, they digest their Victuals

<sup>1</sup> The ravages of the liquor habit among the aborigines of North America are well-known. The Indians do not drink for the taste of the liquor itself, but for the effect it produces—intoxication constituting a great enjoyment, for which they will sacrifice much. They do not hold anyone responsible for acts committed in that state—see vol. i, p. 124, *ante*. The early Jesuits opposed the brandy trade with the Indians, but were unable to secure its prohibition—see *ibid.*, p. 94.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> The “eat-all” feasts were among the most marked and disgusting habits of the Indians. See Le Jeune's description in *Jes. Rel.*, vi, pp. 281–293.—ED.

with greater Facility than the *Europeans*, who load their Stomacks with Wine and other Liquors, that produce Crudities.

The Savages are not at all alarm'd by Sicknefs, for they fear Death much lefs than the Pain and Duration of their Illnefs. When they are fick, they only drink Broth, and eat sparingly; and if they have the good luck to fall afleep, they think themselves cur'd: They have told me frequently, that fleeping and sweating would cure the moft ftubborn Difcafes in the World. When they are fo weak that they cannot get out of Bed, their Relations come and dance and make merry before 'em, in order to divert 'em. To conclude, when they are ill, they are always vifited by a fort of Quacks, (*Jongleurs*); of whom 'twill now be proper to fubjoin two or three Words by the bye.

A *Jongleur* is a fort of *Physician*, or rather a *Quack*, who being once cur'd of fome dangerous Diftemper, has the Preffumption and Folly to fancy that he is immortal, and poffeffed of the Power of curing all Difcafes, by fpeaking to the Good and Evil Spirits. Now though every Body rallies upon thefe Fellows when they are abfent, and looks upon 'em as Fools that have loft their Senses by [48] fome violent Diftemper, yet they allow 'em to vifit the Sick; whether it be to divert 'em with their Idle Stories, or to have an Opportunity of feeing them rave, fkip about, cry, houl, and make Grimaces and Wry Faces, as if they were poffefs'd. When all the Buftle is over, they demand a Feaft of a Stag and fome large Trouts for the Company, who are thus regal'd at once with Diverfion and Good Cheer.

When the Quack comes to vifit the Patient, he examines



him very carefully ; *If the Evil Spirit be here*, says he, *we shall quickly dislodge him*. This said, he withdraws by himself to a little Tent made on purpose, where he dances and sings houl-ing like an Owl ; (which gives the Jesuits Occasion to say, *That the Devil converses with 'em*.) After he has made an end of this Quack Jargon, he comes and rubs the Patient in some part of his Body, and pulling some little Bones out of his Mouth, acquaints the Patient, *That these very Bones came out of his Body ; that he ought to pluck up a good heart, in regard that his Distemper is but a Trifle ; and in fine, that in order to accelerate the Cure, 'twill be convenient to send his own and his Relations Slaves to shoot Elks, Deer, &c. to the end they may all eat of that sort of Meat, upon which his Cure does absolutely depend*.

Commonly these Quacks bring 'em some Juices of Plants, which are a sort of Purges, and are called *Maskikik*. But the Patients choose to keep them by 'em rather than to drink them ; for they think all Purgatives inflame the Mass of the Blood, and weaken the Veins and Arteries by their violent Shocks. All their Cure consists in sweating well, in drinking Broth, in keeping themselves very warm, in sleeping if they can, and in drinking the Lake-water or Spring-water, in the Paroxysms of *Fevers*, as well as in other Distempers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is a large literature on the subject of "medicine men" and their therapeutics. There appear to have been two classes of these practitioners : those of the rational school, who depended for their cures upon herbs, baths, etc. ; and the mystics or conjurers, who sought by religious ceremonies to expel the unwelcome manitou from the patient. For observations of ethnological students, see *Jes. Rel.*, index ; Masson, *Bourgeois*, ii, p. 259-265, 363 ; Hoffman, "Midewinin of the Ojibwa," in U. S. Bur. of Eth. *Report*, 1885-86 ; Bourke, "Medicine Men of the Apache," *ibid*, 1887-88 ; also Brinton, *Myths*, pp. 304-328. — ED.

[49] They cannot conceive how we come to be such Fools as to make use of Vomits; for when ever they see a *Frenchman* take down such a violent Remedy, they cannot forbear saying that he swallows an *Iroquefe*. They plead, that this sort of Remedy shakes the whole Machine, and makes terrible Efforts upon all the inward Parts. But they are yet more astonish'd at our custom of Bleeding; *For, say they, the Blood being the Taper of Life, we have more occasion to pour it in than to take out, considering that Life sinks when its Principal Cause is mov'd off; from whence 'tis a Natural Consequence, that after loss of Blood Nature acts but feebly and heavily, the Intrails are overheated, and all the Parts are dry'd, which gives rise to all the Diseases that afflict the Europeans.*

The Savages are never eight Days together without Sweating, whether they be well or bad; only they observe this difference, that when they are perfectly well they throw themselves while the sweating moisture is yet upon them, into the River in Summer, and into the Snow in Winter; whereas when they are out of order they go immediately into a warm Bed. Five or six Savages may sweat conveniently in the place allotted for that use, which is a sort of Oven or Stove cover'd with Mats, Skins, &c. In the middle of this Bagnio there stands a Dish or Porringer full of burning Brandy, or of great red hot Stones, which occasions such a piercing heat, that in the twinkling of an Eye they sweat prodigiously.<sup>1</sup> They never

<sup>1</sup> The sweat houses of the Indians are familiar to all students of aboriginal life; they were used both in sickness and in health. For a good description see *Jes. Rel.*, vi, pp. 189, 191; xxxviii, pp. 253, 255.—ED.

make use of hot Baths and Glysters, unless it be when they are over perswaded by the Jesuits and our Physicians.

I remember, that in a Conference I had one Day with a Savage, the Barbarian said with a great deal of Sense, *That a good Air, good Water, and Contentment of Mind could not indeed keep a [50] Man's Life from coming to an end, but that at least it must be own'd, that these Advantages contribute in a great measure to make a Man run through the course of his Life without being sensible of any Disorder or Inconveniency.* They make a Jest of the Impatience of the *Europeans*, who would be cur'd as soon as they are sick. They alledge that our fear of Death, occasion'd by the invasion of the least Feaver, does so inflame and fortifie the Disease, that oftentimes we fall a Sacrifice to Fear it self; whereas if we look'd upon our Illness as a Trifle as well as Death, and kept our Bed with Patience and a good Heart, without offering Violence to Nature, by cramming down Drugs and Medicines, the good old Dame would not fail to Comfort and Refresh us by degrees.

The Savages are always against the making use of our Surgeons and Physicians. They affirm, that all mixtures of Drugs are Poyson that destroys Natural Heat, and consumes the Breast; and that Glysters are only proper for the *Europeans*, though after all they sometimes make use of them, when the *French* resort to their Villages. They are of the Opinion, that the observing of a Diet heats the Blood, and that 'tis of dangerous Consequence to baulk the Appetite as to what it craves, provided the Aliment hath a good Juice. The Meat that they eat is little more than half done; but

their Fish is always over boyl'd. They never touch Sallade, upon the Plea that all cold Herbs oblige the Stomach to hard labour.

There's no Wound or Dislocation that they cannot cure with the Simples or Plants, whose Vertues they are well acquainted with; and, which indeed is singular, their Wounds never run to a Gangrene. But after all, this is not to [51] be imputed to these Herbs, nor to the Air of the Country, but to their hail Constitution; for notwithstanding the use of these very Remedies a Gangrene invades the Wounds of the *French*, who questionless are harder to cure than the Savages. This People attribute our liableness to Gangrenes, and indeed all our Diseases, to the Salt that we eat; for they cannot taste any salt thing without being sick unto Death, and drinking perpetually. They cannot be perswaded to drink Ice-water, for they alledge that it infebles the Stomach, and retards Digestion. Such, Sir, are their fantastical Opinions of things, which proceed from their Prepossession and Bigotry with reference to their own Customs and ways of Living. 'Tis in vain to visit them when they lie at the point of Death, in order to press them to Bleed or take a Purge; for they still make answer, that they cannot consent to the forwarding of their Death by the Remedies of the *French*, which they take to be as bad as the Persons who exhibit them.

As soon as a Savage dies he is drest as neatly as can be, and his Relations Slaves come and mourn over him; neither Mother, Sister nor Brother shews the least mark of Affliction; they say, Their deceas'd Friend is happy in being thus ex-

empted from farther Sufferings; for this good People believe, and not without Reason, that Death is a passage to a better Life.<sup>1</sup> When the Corps are drest they set them upon a Mat in the same Posture as if the Person were alive; and his Relations being set round him, every one in his turn addresses him with a Harangue, recounting all his Exploits as well as those of his Ancestors. He that speaks last expresses himself to this purpose. 'You such a one, you sit now along with us, and 'have the same Shapes that [52] we have; you want neither 'Arms, nor Head, nor Legs. But at the same time you cease 'to be, and begin to evaporate like the smoke of a Pipe. 'Who is it that talk'd with us but two Days ago? Sure! 'twas not you; for then you would speak to us still. It must 'therefore be your Soul which is now lodg'd in the great 'Country of Souls along with those of our Nation. This 'Body which we now behold will in six Months time become 'what it was two Hundred Years ago. Thou feelest nothing, 'thou knowest nothing, and thou seest nothing, because thou 'art nothing. Nevertheless out of the Friendship we had for 'thy Body while animated by thy Spirit, we thus tender the 'Marks of that Veneration which is due to our Brethren and 'our Friends.

After they have made an end of their Harangues the Male Relations remove to make room for the the Friends, who

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<sup>1</sup> All tribes of North American Indians appear to have entertained some form of belief in the future life. See Brinton, *Myths*, pp. 271-278. The Jesuits describe the mourning and wailing consequent upon death, but assert that it is largely customary rather than the expression of grief. They likewise mention the funeral orations. See Le Jeune, in *Jes. Rel.*, x, pp. 265-277. — ED.

make him the like Compliment. This done, they shut the Corps up twenty four Hours in the Hut for the Dead, and during that time are employ'd in Dances and Feasts, which are far from bearing a mournful shew. After the twenty four Hours are expir'd the Slaves of the deceas'd Person carry his Corps upon their Backs to the Burying-place, where it is laid upon Stakes that are ten Foot high, in a double Coffin of Bark, with his Arms and some Pipes with Tobacco and *Indian* Corn put up in the same Coffin. When the Slaves are carrying the Corps to the Burying-place, the Male and Female Relations accompany them, Dancing all the while; and the rest of the Slaves of the deceas'd Person carry some Baggage, which the Relations present to the dead Person and lay upon his Coffin. The Savages that live upon the long River burn their Corps, as I insinuated before; [53] but you must know that they keep them in Vaults or Cellars till they have a sufficient number to burn together, which is perform'd out of the Village, in a place set apart for that Ceremony.<sup>1</sup> In fine, the Savages know no such thing as Mourning, and never mention the Dead in particular; I mean, they never repeat their Names.<sup>2</sup> They deride us when they hear us recount the Fate of our Parents, our Kings, our Generals, &c.

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<sup>1</sup> Cremation was seldom practiced by the barbarous nations of the North, but was customary in Central America and among certain California tribes. The scaffolds built for corpses were but temporary resting places; among perhaps most of the wandering tribes the body was taken down at the close of the hunt or raid, when the tribesmen next passed that way, and interred at the village of the deceased; among the Hurons, at the end of a period of from eight to twelve years, all bones were collected and interred. *Jes. Rel.*, i, p. 267. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> This singular custom of avoiding mention of the name of the dead is frequently

Upon the Death of a Savage his Slaves marry the other Women Slaves, and live by themselves in a distinct Hut, as being then free, or such as have no Master to serve. The Children that spring from this sort of Marriages, are adopted and reputed the Children of the Nation, by reason of their being born in the Village and in the Country. *There's no reason, say they, that such Children should bear the Misfortunes of their Parents, or come into the World in Slavery, since they contributed nothing towards their Creation.* These Slaves take care to go every Day to the foot of their Master's Coffin, and there offer some Pipes and Tobacco, as a grateful acknowledgment of their Liberty. But now that I am got upon the Subject of Tobacco, I must acquaint you that almost all the Savages smoak, but they never chew Tobacco, nor take it in Snuff. They sow and reap a great deal of it, but then it differs from what we have in *Europe*, though our first Seed came from *America*; and in regard that 'tis in a manner good for nothing, they are forc'd to buy up *Brazil* Tobacco, which they mix with a certain Leaf of an agreeable Smell, call'd *Sagakomi*.<sup>1</sup>

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mentioned by the Jesuits. For great men, the custom of resuscitation was practiced, whereby one was appointed to take upon himself the name and responsibilities of the deceased. *Jes. Rel.*, i, p. 267; xvii, p. 242. — ED.

<sup>1</sup> *Sagakomi* (*sacacommis*) is the bear berry (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*), one of the ingredients of Indian tobacco or kinnikinnik. The Spanish called it manzanita. Lewis and Clark say that this word is derived from the habit of the clerks (*commis*) of the North West Company who carried this berry in a bag (*sac*) for smoking; — see Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, iv, pp. 13, 21, 22; but Coues, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest* (New York, 1897), p. 581, shrewdly conjectures that the form *sacacommis* was a pun upon a native word — as is here proven. Brazil tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*) is stronger than the northern species (*N. rustica*), hence more desired by the Indians. — ED.

I have nothing more to say upon this Head ; for I think I have given you a sufficient account [54] of their Diseases and of their Remedies, which in my Opinion are as Savage as themselves. But let that be as it will, 'tis certain they seldom die of any other Distemper than of a Pleurisy. As for the other Diseases they get over them with the greatest danger in the World, for setting aside their Courage and Patience which goes beyond any thing that we can imagine, they take all the ways of the World to burst themselves by Eating and Drinking when they have gross Favours upon them, and when the fit is over smoking that *Brazil* Tobacco, which without dispute is the strongest sort that we know of.

The Women of this Country are subject to the Natural Disorders as well as elsewhere, and sometimes die of them. 'Tis true they have an admirable Remedy for redressing the Disorders that flow from that Source ; I mean, a certain Potion ; but it hath no Operation unless they abstain from all manner of Excess, which they are very unwilling to do. Some *French* Surgeons assure'd me, that the *European* Women void a much greater quantity and hold the Flux longer upon them than these *Americans*, who seldom have those upon them above two Days at a time. Another Inconvenience that frequently annoys them, is an over-bearing quantity of Milk ; for which they use to put little Puppies to suck their Breasts.



[55] *The Diversions of Hunting and Shooting usual among the Savages.*

I HAVE already describ'd the Hunting of the Elks and some other Animals of *Canada* in my 10th and 11th Letter, so that now it remains only to give you an exact account of the Beavers, which are said to be *Amphibious Animals*, as I observ'd in my 16th Letter, with which I sent you the Figure of these Animals. And because these Beasts do some things very surprizing by a wonderful Instinct, to give you a right Notion wherein their Cunning consists, I send you a Draught of those Ponds which they know how to make more Artificially than any Man can do.

The Savages of *Canada* reflecting on the excellent Qualities of the Beavers, are wont to say, *That they have so much Wit, Capacity and Judgment, that they cannot believe their Souls die with their Bodies.* They add, *That if they were permitted to reason about things invisible, and which fall not under their Senses, they durst maintain, that they are Immortal like ours.* But not to insist on this Chimerical Fancy, it must be allow'd, that there are an infinite number of Men upon the Earth (without mentioning the *Tartars*, the Peasants of *Muscovy*, of *Norway*, and a Hundred other sorts of People) who have not the Hundredth part of the Understanding which these Animals have.

The Beavers discover so much Art in their Works, that we cannot without offering violence to our Reason attribute their Skill to mere [56] Instinct, for it is lawful to doubt of some things whereof we cannot discover the Cause, provided they have not any Connexion with Religion; I mean such things as appear so strange to Sense and Reason, that we cannot give credit to them, unless we have seen them our selves. However, I will venture to write to you many Particulars upon this Subject, which perhaps may make you doubt of the truth of my Narrative. I will begin with assuring you, that these Animals join together in a Society consisting of an Hundred, and that they seem to talk and reason with one another by certain bemoaning inarticulate Sounds.<sup>1</sup> The Savages say they have an intelligible Jargon, by means whereof they communicate their Sentiments and Thoughts to one another. I never was an Eye Witness of this kind of Assemblies, but many *Savages* and *Coueurs de Bois*, who are People worthy of Credit, have assur'd me, that there is nothing more true. They add, that they consult among themselves about what things they must do to maintain their Cottages, their Banks and their Lakes, and about every thing that concerns the Preservation of their Commonwealth. These good People would persuade me, that the Beavers set Centries while they are cutting through great Trees, as big as Tuns, with their Teeth, in the Neighbourhood of their little Lakes, and that when these Centinels

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<sup>1</sup> On the methods of communication between beavers, consult a recent monograph by Dugmore, "The Outlaw; a character study of a Beaver," in *Smithsonian Institution Report*, 1900, pp. 517-522. — ED.

cry out, upon the approach of Men or Beasts, all the Beavers that are at Work throw themselves into the Water and save themselves by diving, till they come at their Cottages.<sup>1</sup> I mention this matter of Fact upon the Report of a Thousand Persons, who could have no Interest to impose upon me with Fables; but what follows I have observ'd my self, in the Country where the *Outagamis* Hunt, [57] which I mention'd in the beginning of my 16th Letter.

The Beavers finding a Rivulet that runs cross a Meadow, set themselves to make Banks and Ramparts, which stopping the course of the Water cause an Inundation over the whole Meadow; that sometimes is no less than two Leagues in Circumference. This Bank is made with Trees which they cut down with their four great sharp Teeth, and then drag them along as they swim in the Water. These Trees being rang'd a cross at the bottom of this Meadow, the Animals load themselves with Grass and fat Earth, which they transport upon their great Tails, and throw in between the Wood with so much Art and Industry, that the most skilful Bricklayer can hardly make a stronger Wall with Lime and Morter. In the Night time they are heard to Work with so much Vigour and Diligence, that one would think them to be Men at Work, if he were not assur'd before hand that they are

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<sup>1</sup> Apropos of Lahontan's hearsay reports of the sagacity of the beaver, the following should be noted: "Numberless writers upon this fertile and suggestive theme have been too easily betrayed into a fanciful exaggeration of facts, making the beaver a marvel of reflective, purposive, and coöperative intelligence — an imaginary picture, which an appeal to nature does not justify." — *Riverside Natural History*, v., p. 120. — ED.

**Beavers.** Their Tails serve them for *Trouels*, and their Teeth for *Axes*, their Paws supply the place of *Hands*, and their Feet serve instead of *Oars*: In fine, they make Banks of 4 or 500 Paces in length, of 20 Feet in height, and 7 or 8 in thickness, in the space of 5 or 6 Months, though there are not above a Hundred at most that Work upon them.<sup>1</sup> I must observe here by the by, that the Savages, out of a scruple of Conscience, never break these Banks, but only bore a hole through them, as I shall show you hereafter. Besides their Talent of cutting down the Trees, their Art of making them fall upon the Water appears to me altogether surprizing; for it requires Judgment and close Attention to succeed in it, and chiefly to nick the time when the Wind can assist them to make the fall of the [58] Tree more easie, and to make them fall upon their little Lakes. But this is not the finest Work of these Animals, that of their Cottages surpasses all Imagination; for it requires both Skill and Strength to make holes at the bottom of the Water, for planting their six Posts which they take care to place exactly in the middle of the Lake: Upon these six Posts they fix their little House, which is built in the form of an Oven, and is made up of fat Earth, Herbs and Branches of Trees, having three Stories that they may mount up from one to the other when the Waters rise by Rains or Thaw. The Rafters are of Rushes, and each Beaver hath an Apartment to himself. They enter into their Cabin

<sup>1</sup> Upon the subject of beaver dams, consult *Jes. Rel.*, i, p. 251; ix, pp. 129, 131; Martin, *Castorologia*, pp. 75, 76; Wells, "The Beaver," in *Harper's Magazine*, January, 1889. — ED.

under Water, thro' a great hole in the first Floor, which is encompass'd with Asp Wood cut in pieces on purpose, that they may the more easily drag it into their Cells when they have a mind to eat; for since it is their common Food, they are always so Provident as to lay up great heaps of it, and chiefly during the *Autumn*, foreseeing that the cold Weather will freeze up their Lakes, and keep them shut up two or three Months in their Cabins.<sup>1</sup>

I should never make an end if I attempted to give an account of all the several Artifices of these Ingenious Animals, the Order settled in their little Commonwealth, and the Precautions they use to secure themselves from the pursuit of other Animals: I shall only observe, that all other Animals upon Earth, however Strong, Active and Vigorous they may be, have other Animals which they are afraid of; but these I now speak of are not apprehensive of any danger but only from Men, for the Wolves, the Foxes, the Bears, &c. care not for offering to attack them in their Cabines, although they have the faculty of Diving; and it is certain it [59] is not their Interest to do it, for the Beavers would defend themselves very easily with their sharp cutting Teeth; so that they cannot be insulted but by Land, and 'tis for that reason they never go farther than twenty Paces from the edge of their Lake, and always set Centinels to watch, who cry out to give them notice when they hear the least noise.

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<sup>1</sup> It does not appear to be true that beavers can determine the direction a tree will fall; see Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-72. Nor do they plant posts to build their lodges; see Hearn's account in Martin, p. 226; also *Jes. Rel.*, ix, pp. 127, 129. — ED.

It remains now only that I should give an Account of the Nature of the Countries where the Beavers are hunted, some of which are describ'd in my Map.<sup>1</sup> And first you must know, that you cannot go four or five Leagues in the Woods of *Canada*, but you meet with a little Beaver-Lake : So that one may say, that all this vast Continent is a Country for *Beaver hunting*; but this is not what I mean. The Places for Hunting that I now speak of are a multitude of little Lakes replenish'd with these Animals, the distance of which from one to another is inconsiderable. For Instance, those of *Saguinan*, of *L' ours qui dort*, of the *River of Puants*, are about twenty Leagues in length, and in that whole compass of Ground their are found Sixty little Beaver Lakes more or less, where a certain number of Savages may Hunt in the Winter time.<sup>2</sup> 'Tis commonly about the end of *Autumn* that the Savages set out from their Villages in a Canow to go and post themselves in the places for Hunting, and as they know all the places much better than I do the Streets of *Quebec*, they agree among themselves, as they are Travelling, to allot each Family a certain compass of Ground, so that when they arrive at the place they divide themselves into *Tribes*.<sup>3</sup> Each Hunter fixes his House in the Center of that Ground which is his District, as you may see

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<sup>1</sup> For a map of beaver habitat and distribution, see Martin, p. 58. The beaver will probably soon become extinct in North America; even the interesting preserved colonies in the Yellowstone National Park, where they can still be studied with comparative ease, suffer a steady depletion at the hands of poachers. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 143, 168, 208, *ante*. — ED.

<sup>3</sup> Martin (*Castorologia*, p. 140) cites instances where the Indians kept with fidelity to the bounds of their beaver reserves. — ED.

describ'd in this Cut. There are eight or ten Hunters in each Cottage, [60] who have four or five Lakes for their share. In each Lake there is at least one House or Kennel of Beavers, and sometimes two or three. After the Huntsmen have built their Huts they employ themselves in laying Traps for *Otters*, *Foxes*, *Bears*, *Land Beavers* and *Martens*, upon the sides of their Lakes; and when they are set go very orderly to look after them every Day: But above all they are so Just, that they would choose rather to die for Hunger than to straggle out of the Bounds allotted them, or to steal the Beasts that are taken in their Neighbours Traps. They feed well and make merry during this Hunting Season, which lasts for four Months; for they find more than they have occasion for, of *Trouts*, *Hares*, *Wood-Fowl*, *Bears*, and sometimes they meet with *Deer* and *Roebucks*.

The *Beavers* are seldom catch'd by Traps unless they put in them some pieces of red Asp\* which they love  
 \* *A sort of* extremely, and is not easie to be found. They  
*a Willow.* are taken in the *Autumn* by making a great hole under their Banks, by which they drain all the Water out of their Lakes, and then the Beavers being left on dry Ground the Savages kill them all, except a dozen of Females, and half a dozen of Males; after which they are very exact in stopping up the hole they had made, which they do in such a manner that the Lake is fill'd with Water as before.

Their way of Hunting in the Winter time when the Lake is frozen, is by making holes round the Kennels of the

Beavers, upon which they place Nets that reach from one to the other, and when they are extended as they should be, they lay open the Kennels of these poor Animals with an Ax; upon which they throw themselves into the Water, and coming to take [61] Breath at these Holes, are catch'd in the Nets; at this rate not one of them escapes, but the Savages having no mind to extirpate 'em throw back into the Holes, the same number of Beavers, Male and Female, as they usually do at their Hunting in Autumn, as I have already told you.

They may likewise be kill'd when they Swim upon the Water, or when they come Ashore to cut down Trees; but then you must be very well hid and not stir, for upon the least noise that they hear, they throw themselves into the Water, and Dive till they come to their Kennels. This way of Hunting is peculiar to Travellers, who finding themselves lodg'd near some Beaver Lake, endeavour to surprize them, by Sculking behind some Log or some great Tree till Night comes on.<sup>1</sup>

The Savages take also other Animals in these Beaver-Hunting-Countries, by running up and down. I have already told you, that they set Traps, in which *Foxes*, *Wolves*, *Martens* and others are catch'd when they bite at the Bait. I have also explain'd to you the way of making this sort of Traps, in my

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<sup>1</sup> On methods of beaver hunting, see *Jes. Rel.*, vi, pp. 299-303; Masson, *Bourgeois*, ii, pp. 342-344. On modern methods, consult Wells, "Beaver." The use of castoreum as a bait was not adopted until near the close of the eighteenth century, and led to new methods of hunting which rapidly reduced the numbers of this animal. For the method of preparation of this bait, see frequent references in *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition*. — ED.



11th Letter. These Engines do not differ from one another, but only in bulk: Those for the Bears are the strongest, but they are of no use till the beginning of Winter; for then the Bears seek out great Trees which are Hollow, where the Branches begin to spread, that they may Nestle in them. Many People will hardly believe that these Animals can live 3 Months in such Prisons, without any other Food but the Juice of their Paws which they suck continually: And yet the matter of Fact is undeniably true. But I reckon it yet more strange, that they are able to climb up to those Lurking-Holes, especially at a time when they are so Fat, [62] that 2 Savages conduct them whither they please with Poles, they being scarce able to walk. This I saw 3 or 4 times during the Winter in 1687, when I Winter'd at *Fort St. Joseph*; for the *Hurons* of *Gaintsouan* brought some of them off, which enter'd the Fort without any reluctance.<sup>1</sup>

The Savages make likewise Traps for the *Land-Beavers*, which for the reason given in my 16th Letter, nestle on the Land, like *Foxes*, *Conies* and *Badgers*: And notwithstanding that they are pursu'd by the other Beavers, yet they make their Dens about the Lakes, Brooks and Rivers. They are easily taken in these Traps, especially when they are Baited with the Head of an *Otter*: For there is so great an Antipathy

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<sup>1</sup> This Huron appellation has not been certainly identified; but consult Coyne (ed.), "Exploration of the Great Lakes, 1669-70," in *Ontario Historical Society Records and Papers*, iv (Toronto, 1903), especially the map; also Jones, "Identification of St. Ignace II and of Ekarenniondi," in *Ontario Archæological Report*, 1902, pp. 92-136, particularly the map of Petun Country, p. 113. — ED.

between these 2 sorts of Animals, that they are continually at War with one another.<sup>1</sup>

The Savages inform'd me, that they saw a great Company of *Otters* Assembled together about the Month of *May*, who had the boldness to attack the *Beavers* in their Huts, but were beaten back and driven from the Lake with loss. They added, that a Beaver can defend himself against 3 Otters, by the help of his Teeth and Tail. In fine, 'tis certain that the Lake Beavers are seldom taken in Traps, unless they be Baited with some Aspwood, as I have already observ'd. I acquainted you above that the Savages visit their Traps every day, and carry into their Cottages the Prey that they find catch'd. Immediately after that, the Slaves Flea the Beasts that are taken, and stretch out their Skins in the Air, or on the Ice to dry them. This Employment lasts as long as the time of Hunting, which ends with the great Thaw; and then they put up their Skins in Bundles, and carry them to the place where they left the Canows when they first came into this Hunting-Country.

[63] Altho the Savages have great reason to be afraid of their Enemies, while they lye disperfed up and down in a Country, which is no less than 20 Leagues in Compass, as I intimated above; yet they scarce ever use the Precaution of sending out Scouts upon all hands, and for want of it are often Surpriz'd, when they least think of it. I could relate 20 fatal Excurfions of the *Iroquefe* into the Hunting-Countries

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<sup>1</sup> On land beavers, see pp. 170-172, *ante*. — Ed.

I have been speaking of, in which they cut the Throats of many of our Friends and Allies. I did all that I could to persuade our Allies that their Conduct was faulty upon this occasion, since they could easily secure themselves from such Insults, by Building their Cottages at a place where they might post a Guard of Centinels, to watch and discover any Enemies, that might advance to the Frontiers of these Hunting-Countries. They only made answer; *that this indeed was reasonable, and that it was true, they did not sleep in safety for want of that Precaution.* In fine, they imagine that their Enemies are busied in Hunting on their own Coasts; and upon that Apprehension, are such Fools as not to use any Precaution. But this I know, that the *Iroquese* take quite another Method, having their Scouts and advanc'd Guards, which are always in Motion; by which means they are scarce ever disturb'd in their Hunting. Nevertheless, I think I ought not to conclude this Chapter, without giving you an account of 2 Attempts wherein the *Iroquese* mis'd of their design to surprize their Enemies, tho they had very good Success upon many other occasions.

In the year 1680. The *Oumamis* and *Ilinefe* being at Hunting near the River *Oumamis*; a Party of 400 *Iroquese* surpriz'd them, kill'd 30 or 40 Hunters, and took 300 Prisoners, including [64] Women and Children.<sup>1</sup> After they had rested a little while, they prepar'd to return Home by short Jour-

<sup>1</sup> Evidently this was an episode (although probably with exaggerated numbers) occurring in the Illinois-Iroquois war (1680-82). The Miami were at first reluctant allies of the latter, but later complained that they "were daily slaughtered by the Iroquois." See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, ix, pp. 162, 177, 192. — ED.

neys, because they had reason to believe that they should reach their own Villages before the *Ilinefe* and *Oumamis* could have time to Rally, and give notice of their Disaster to such of the Nations as were Hunting in remoter Places. But they were so much deceiv'd, that the *Ilinefe* and *Oumamis* Rallied to the number of 200, and resolv'd to die Fighting rather than suffer their Countrymen to be carried away by the *Iroquefe*. In the mean time, because their Party was not an equal Match for the Enemies, they contriv'd a notable Stratagem: For after they had well consider'd in what manner they should Attack them, they concluded that they ought to follow them at a small distance till it began to Rain. Their Project succeeded, and the Heavens seem'd to favour it: For while it Rain'd continually one whole day from Morning to Night, they so quicken'd their pace, from the time that the Rain begun to fall, that they pass'd by on one side at 2 Leagues distance from the *Iroquefe*, and so got before them to lay an Ambuscade in the middle of a Meadow, which the Enemy was to cross in order to reach a Wood, where they had a mind to make a halt and kindle great Fires. The *Ilinefe* and *Oumamis* lying upon their Belly among the *Fern*, waited till the *Iroquefe* were got into the middle of them before they Shot off their Arrows; and then they Attack'd them so vigorously with their Clubs, that the Enemy finding their Fire-Arms unserviceable, by reason that their Prime was wet, were forc'd to throw them down on the Ground, and defend themselves with the same Arms wherewith they were Attack'd, (I mean with Clubs.) But as I observ'd before,

that the [65] *Ilinefe* are something more dextrous and nimble than the *Iroquefe*, so the latter were forc'd to yield to the former, and retreated Fighting till Night came on, after they had lost 180 Soldiers. The Fight which lasted but one hour, had continued all Night, if the Conquerors had not been afraid, left their Countrymen being still Bound and left behind 'em, should be expos'd to some Surprize in the dark: And therefore after they had rejoyn'd them, and seiz'd all the Fire-Arms of their Enemies who were fled and dispers'd up and down, they return'd into their own Country, without taking one *Iroquefe*, for fear of weakning themselves.

The 2d Attempt hapned 3 years after this, in the Hunting-Country of the *Outagamis*; where the Governor of that Nation, as I inform'd you in my 16th Letter, gave me 10 Soldiers to accompany me to the Long River. The Blow then given was after this manner. A Body of 1000 *Iroquefe* being come in their Canows about the end of Autumn, as far as the Bay of *Missisagues*, in the Lake of the *Hurons*,<sup>1</sup> without being discover'd, Landed at this place; and being very numerous, march'd up the Country with their Nets, in order to Fish in the little Lakes and Rivers, till the Frosty Season should come on, which hapned a few days after. After the Ice was strong enough to bear them, they continued their Course, coasting along the great Lake of the *Hurons*, till they were 5 or 6 Leagues below the Fall call'd *Saut Sainte Marie*, which they would not approach to for fear of meeting with some *Coueurs*

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<sup>1</sup> "Bay of Missisagues" is the present Georgian Bay, off Lake Huron. The Huronia of the *Jesuit Relations* was bounded on the west by this bay. — ED.

*de bois* in the Fort of the *Jesuits*. Having cross'd the Bay, they judg'd it convenient to make very short Journies, for fear of being discover'd. And they were so cautious as to march all in a Row upon the Snow; that if [66] by chance any one should discover their Footsteps, it might be thought that they were not above Thirty or Forty at the most. After this manner they Travell'd till the 15th or 20th of *February*, without being perceiv'd, but at last they had the misfortune to be discover'd by four *Sauteurs*, who seeing so great a number pass over a little Lake, run with all speed to the Hunting Country of the *Outagamis* to give them notice, notwithstanding that the *Sauteurs* were then at War with the *Outagamis*. In the mean time the Thaw coming on suddenly contrary to the Expectation of the *Iroquese*, who reckon'd upon Twenty Days of Frost to come, according to the common course of the Season; this made them mend their pace, and look out for the narrowest and least frequented Passes. The *Outagamis* were mightily perplex'd what course to take in this case. It was certain that they might get back again to their Villages in safety, but then they would be forc'd to abandon their Wives and Children, who had not strength to run as the Men. In fine, after they had held a Council among themselves, they resolv'd to advance as far as a certain Pass about half a League in length and Thirty Paces in breadth, between two little Lakes, which way they saw plainly that the *Iroquese* were oblig'd to pass.

The *Outagamis* being no more than four Hundred thought fit to divide themselves into two Bodies, and it was agreed,

that two Hundred should be posted at the end of a Pass which they should Fortifie immediately with a Range of Stakes from one Lake to another; and that the other two Hundred should go about a quarter of a League off of the other end of the Pass, thro' which the *Iroquese* were to march, to the end that every one having cut down a Stake they [67] might all run quickly in to stop up that end of the Passage, and that immediately after the *Iroquese* had entred the Defile, the Scouts appointed to observe their March should come and give them notice; all which was punctually put in Execution: For as soon as that great Multitude, who industriously pitch'd upon the narrow Roads, was entred into this Pass, the two Hundred *Outagamis*, who were about a quarter of a League to one side of it, run in with all their Might and carried with them a sufficient number of Pales to enclose that little piece of Land which was bounded by the two little Lakes, so that they had time enough to set them up and fasten them with Earth, before the *Iroquese*, being astonish'd to find their way block'd up at the other end, could return back the same way, to see themselves shut up between two Barricadoes. Now the Savages, as I have often told you, are never so rash as to attack a Redoubt of Fifty Palisadoes, yet these *Iroquese* were resolv'd to venture upon an Attack, and with that view run up with all expedition to force the new Barricado; but they slacken'd their pace after the first discharge which the *Outagamis* made through the intervalls of the Pales, for they had not time to joyn them as they should be. The *Iroquese* seeing themselves thus shut up, took the number of the *Outagamis* to be much

greater than really it was. In the mean time the great Question was, how to get out of this Prison? For to throw themselves into the Water and swim over one of these Lakes, was to run the hazard of ones Life, besides that one must be long-winded and have a good Heart to swim over a broad Lake, at a time when the Water was cold, the Ice being not quite melted. This Consultation gave the *Outagamis* time to fortifie their Barricadoes, and to [68] send out Scouts who were plac'd at a distance from one another, upon the Banks of these two Lakes, to knock all on the Head that offer'd to swim to the shore.

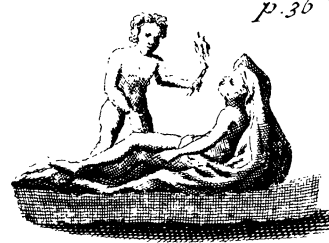
Notwithstanding all these Precautions the *Iroquese* found out a wonderful Expedient, which was to make Floats of the Trees wherewith they were encompass'd; but the blows of the Ax made too great a noise, which discover'd their Design to the *Outagamis*, and therefore they made Canows of Hart-skins to run backward and forward upon the two Lakes in the Night time. These Boats were made in five or six Days, during which time the *Iroquese* fish'd and catch'd abundance of Trouts in the sight of the *Outagamis*, who could not hinder them. After this no body doubted, but they must cross one of the Lakes, and fight stoutly when they came to the Landing place, in case their secret Navigation was discover'd. That they might the better succeed in their Design they made a Feint, which had infallibly answer'd their end if the bottom of the Lake had not been Clay: For about Midnight having Sacrific'd Twenty Slaves upon one of the Lakes, whom they forc'd to push a Float along, they made account to pass the



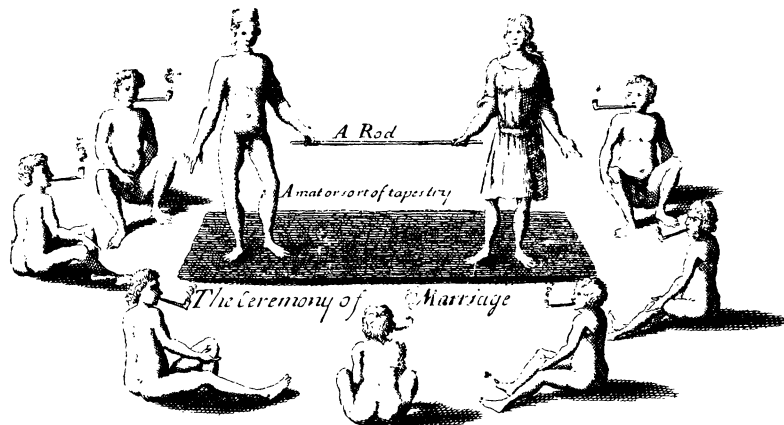
other the same way, making use of Poles instead of Oars: But in regard that the Poles sunk so deep into the Clay, that the Steerfmen could not pull them out again without great difficulty, they made but slow dispatch; inasmuch that the *Outagamis*, that at first were under a mistake in joining themselves to the Slaves, had time to run to the other Lake, where they found the *Iroquese* about a Musket-shot off the Shore. As soon as the *Iroquese* came to have but three Foot Water they threw themselves into the Water with their Guns cock'd, suffering at [69] the same time the Fire of the *Outagamis*, who were not above three Hundred, there being Fifty of them left to guard each Barricado. 'Tis a wonder the *Iroquese* were not all cut off in the Landing, for they sunk in the Clay up to their Knees. 'Tis true, 'twas in the Night time, and for that reason all the Enemy's Fire might not bear upon them. However five Hundred of them fell in the Water, and the rest having gain'd the Shoar notwithstanding all the opposition of the *Outagamis*, attack'd them with such Fury that if the Hundred Men that were left for a Guard to the Barricades had not run in to their Assistance upon the first noise of the Guns, the poor *Outagamis* were in danger of falling upon the Spot. They fought till the break of Day with wonderful fury, and that in the greatest Confusion imaginable, being dispers'd up and down a Wood, inasmuch that several were kill'd by their own Men, who could not distinguish who was who. The *Iroquese* were obstinately resolv'd not to yield the Field of Battel, out of regard to their wounded Men, and in consideration that they would not have the *Outagamis* to take the Hair of



*A Savage approaching with a torch to his mistress's bed, who rejecting his offers covers her face with the coverlet.*



*A Savage carrying a torch to the bedside of his mistress, who shows her consent to admit him by blowing out the light.*



*The Ceremony of Marriage*



*A Savage sitting on the foot of his mistress's bed and conversing with her.*

*An Old man entering from his marriage woman and her relatives at the door of the hut.*



their Dead. But at last they were oblig'd to give way, without being pursued, and fled half a League off where they rally'd. I was inform'd by several *Iroquese* some Years after this Engagement happen'd, that those who surviv'd the Engagement were for venturing upon a new Brush; but considering that they wanted Powder, and that they were oblig'd to return home through the Country of the *Sauteurs*, or those who live on the Confines of the great Water Falls, they chang'd their Resolution. But after all they were much out in not coming to a fresh Engagement; for being still three Hundred strong they could not but [70] have the better of it, for the *Outagamis* were not so numerous by one third, having lost half their number in that sharp Engagement, not to mention that of the two Hundred which remain'd there were Thirty Wounded. In short the *Outagamis* having intrench'd themselves in the same place where the Fight was, took care in the first place to dress the Wounds both of their own Men and of their Prisoners; and after taking the Hair off the Heads of all their dead Enemies, sent out Scouts to observe the Enemy, after which they return'd home in safety.

When the *Outagamis* arriv'd at their Villages, the first thing they did was a return of Thanks to the four *Sauteurs* that had given them Intelligence of the approach of the *Iroquese*. They proclaim'd them to be great Masters of War, and presented 'em with one half of what they had got at Hunting, which amounted to Sixty Thousand Crowns, pretending farther, that these four Savages ought to inherit the Beaver and other Skins belonging to those of the *Outagamis* that

were kill'd in the Battle. In fine, after entertaining those Intelligencers with good Chear, and all the Marks of Honour that were possible in their way, they sent them in a Canow to *Saut St. Mary*, by the way of the Bay of *Puantes*, with a Guard of Fifty Warriors. The *Sauteurs* refus'd both their Presents and their Convoy, upon the account that the two Nations were then at War with one another: But the *Outagamis* forc'd them upon 'em, and 'twas this that procur'd a Peace between them at the end of four Months.<sup>1</sup>

This, Sir, as I take it is sufficient to give you an *Idea* of the Hazards that the Savages run at their Beaver Hunting. In the mean time, tho' I have but just made an end of two Military Adventures, yet I allot the very next Chapter [71] for an account of their Military Art, in which you'll meet with somethings that will serve for Diversion to your self and Entertainment to your Friends.

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<sup>1</sup> Lahontan appears to be the only contemporary author who relates this defeat of the Iroquois by the Foxes (Outagamis). Allouez speaks of a war between them, about 1670; but it is strange that so signal a victory of the French-allied Indians should not have been mentioned in the official documents of the period. The story would therefore appear to be of doubtful authenticity. — ED.

*The Military Art of the Savages.*

THE Savage call'd *Rat*, whom I have mention'd so often in my Letters, has said to me several times, that the only thing in the World that vex'd and disturb'd his Mind was the seeing Men wage War with Men. *Prithee, my Brother*, said he, *do but look; our Dogs agree perfectly well with the Iroquese Dogs, and those of the Iroquese bear no Enmity to the Dogs that come from France. I do not know any Animal that wages War with others of its own Species, excepting Man, who upon this score is more Unnatural than the Beasts. For my part* (continues he) *I am of the Opinion, that if the Brutes could Think and Reason, and communicate their Thoughts, 'twould be an easie matter for them to extirpate the Human Race: For, in earnest, if the Bears and Wolves were but capable of forming a Republick, who could hinder them to draw together a Body of ten or twelve Thousand, and to fall upon us? If such a thing should happen, what defence can we make? They would scale our Villages with the greatest Facility imaginable, and after the pulling down of our Huts devour our selves. Could we in such a Case undertake a Hunting Expedition, without running the risque of being torn in Pieces? We should then be reduc'd to live upon Accorns and Roots, without Arms and without Cloaths, and to run the perpetual hazard of falling into the Clutches of these*

*Animals. Their Strength and Nimbleness would sink all Opposition from us, and command us to yield. [72] Let us conclude therefore, my dear Brother, that this Reason which Man boasts so much of is the greatest Instrument of his Misery; and that if Men were without that Faculty of Thinking, Arguing and Speaking, they would not imbarque in mutual Wars as they now do, without any regard to Humanity or Sacred Promises.*

Such, Sir, are the Moral Thoughts of a Savage, who pretends to Philosophise upon the Custom that we have of killing Men with Justice and Honour. The Jesuits do their utmost to remove this Scruple by such Reasons as they have, as they do upon several other Subjects, and the Savages hear 'em very gravely, but at the same time they tell 'em that they do not understand 'em.

The Wars of the Savages are grounded upon the Right of Hunting, or of a Passage upon such and such Grounds; for their Limits are adjusted, and every Nation is perfectly well acquainted with the Boundaries of their own Country. Now these *Americans* are as Cruel to their Enemies, as they are True to their Allies; for some Nations among them use their Prisoners with the last degree of Inhumanity; as I shall shew you more at large in the Sequel. When the *Europeans* offer to Censure the Savages for their barbarous and cruel Usage, they reply very coldly, *That Life is nothing, that they are not reveng'd on their Enemies by cutting their Throats, but by putting them to a long, tedious, sharp and lasting Torture; and that Women would be as chearful Warriors as Men, if there*

*were nothing to be fear'd but bare Death.* At the Age of Fifteen they begin to bear Arms, and lay 'em down at Fifty. If they happen to bear Arms sooner or later, 'tis only in the way of marauding, for they are not lifted into the number of the Warriors.

[73] The Strength of the *Iroquefe* lies in engaging with Fire-Arms in a Forrest; for they shoot very dexterously; besides that they are very well vers'd in making the best advantage of every thing, by covering themselves with Trees, behind which they stand stock still after they have discharg'd, though their Enemies be twice their Number. But in regard that they are more clumsy and not so clever as the more *Southern Americans*, they have no Dexterity in handling a Club; and thus it comes to pass, that they are always worsted in the open Field, where the Clubs are the only Weapons; for which Reason they avoid any Engagement in Meadows or open Fields as much as is possible.

The Savages never court an Engagement but by way of Surprisal, that is, the side which makes the first discovery is almost always sure of having the better of it; for they have it in their choice to make the Attack either in the open Field, or in the most dangerous Defiles or Passes.

In the Day time they take all the Precaution in the World to cover their March, by sending out Scouts on all Hands, unless it be that the Party is so strong as to fear nothing; for then, indeed, they March all in a close Body. But they are as Negligent in the Night time, as they are Vigilant in the



Day ; for they place neither Centries nor Guards at the entry of their Camp, and when they go a Hunting or Shooting of Beavers, they are equally secure or careless. When I enquir'd into the reason of this bad Discipline, I was assur'd that the Savages did it by way of Prefumption, as reckoning so much upon the Reputation of their Valour, that they imagine their Enemies will not be so bold as to Attack them: And when they send out Scouts in the Day time, that Precaution proceeds more [74] from an itch to surprize their Enemies, than from the fear of being surpris'd themselves.

There are a great many Savage Nations in *Canada* that tremble at the very Name of the *Iroquese*, for the latter are a brave sort of People ; they are expert Warriors, ready upon all Enterprizes, and capable to put them in Execution, with all due Dexterity. 'Tis true, they are not so sprightly as most of their Enemies, nor so happy in fighting with Clubs ; and 'tis for that Reason that they never march but in numerous Bodies, and that by slower Marches than those of the other Savages. In fine, you'll see in my List of the Nations of *Canada*, which of 'em are Warlike, and which are only qualify'd for Hunting.

The Savages have a wonderful Talent in surprizing their Enemies ; for they can trace the Footsteps of Men and Beasts upon Grass and Leaves, better than the *Europeans* can upon Snow or wet Sand. Nay, which is more, they can distinguish with a great deal of Facility between fresh Tracts and those of longer standing, and can make a just Estimate of the number and kind that made them. These Tracts they follow

whole Days without being mistaken. This I have seen so often with my own Eyes, that there's no room left for the least doubt upon the matter.

The Warriors never undertake any thing without the Advice of the Ancient Men, to whom they propose their Projects. Upon a Proposal thus made the old Men meet and consult upon it; after which their Speaker walks out of the Council-Hut, and with a loud Voice Proclaims the Resolution of the Council, that all the Village may have due Information of the same.

[75] You must observe that each Village hath its General or Great Head of the Warriors, who in consideration of his Valour, Capacity and Experience is proclaim'd such by an unanimous Consent.<sup>1</sup> But after all, this Title invests him with no Power over the Warriors; for these People are Strangers to a Military as well as to a Civil Subordination. Nay, they are so far from it, that if the great Leader should order the fillyest and most pittiful Fellow in his Army to do so and so, why truly, this shadow of a Captain would receive this Answer from the Centinel, *That what he orders another to do he ought to do it himself*. But 'tis such an uncommon thing for the Leader to act so indiscreetly, that I Question if there be one Instance of it. However this mutual Independance is of no ill Consequence; for though the great Leader is not invested with Power and Authority, yet they acquiesce entirely in

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<sup>1</sup> In most tribes the civil and military government is separate, the war chief being from a different clan than the head chief, and usually chosen for ability and valor. See Powell, "Wyandot Government," in U. S. Bur. of Eth. *Report*, 1879-80, pp. 59-69; Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Ibid*, 1881-82, pp. 312-333. — Ed.

what he Propofes. He no fooner opens his Mouth in faying, *I think fuch and fuch a thing proper, let's detach Ten or Twenty Men, &c.* than 'tis put in Execution, without the leaft Oppofition. Befides the great Leader there are fome other Leaders that Head a certain number of Warriors who follow them out of Friendfhip and Refpect; and thefe are not look'd upon as Leaders or Commanders by any other than their own Family or Followers.<sup>1</sup>

When the old Men think it proper that a Party of Warriors fhould take the Field, the *Great Leader* who always affifts at the Council, hath the privilege of making his choice whether he'll Head them himfelf, or ftay at home in the Village. If he hath a mind to go himfelf, he orders the Cryer of that Nation to make publick Proclamation in all the Streets of the Village, That on fuch a Day he gives the Feaft of War to thofe who [76] pleafe to be prefent. Then, thofe who have a mind to go in that Party, fend their Difhes to the General's Houfe on the appointed day, and are fure to be there themfelves before noon. When the Company is all gather'd, the General walks out to a publick place with his Club in his hand, being followed by the Warriours who fit down round him. This done, there comes fix Savages, with as many Kettle Drums, which make a Clutter, rather than a Warlike Sound.<sup>2</sup> Thefe Drummers fit down fquat upon their Tails

<sup>1</sup> There feem to be fome traces among the North American Indians of the institution of fellowship, or "comitatus"—see Powell, *op. cit.*, p. 68. Private war parties were frequently organized, the infligator becoming leader of the band of his felected associates. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of Indian drums, fee Maſſon, *Bourgeois*, ii, pp. 332, 333. — ED.

by a Post fix'd in the Center of the great Ring: And at the same time, the General fixes his Eyes upon the Sun, all the Company following his example, and makes his Addresses to the Great Spirit; after which a Sacrifice is commonly offer'd up. When this Ceremony is over, he sings the Song of War, the Drummers beating Time to him after their way; and at the end of every Period, which contains one of his Exploits, he knocks against the Post with his Club. When he has made an end of his Song, each Warriour sings in his turn after the same fashion, provided he has made a Campagne before; for if he has not, he's doom'd to Silence. This done, the whole Company returns to the General's Hutt, where they find their Dinner ready for them.

If the General do's not think it fit to Command the Party in Person, and chooses to stay at home; the Warriours that design to go upon the Party, choose one of the *Under-Leaders* that I mention'd but now: And the *Under-Leader* thus chosen, observes the same Ceremonies of Addressing the Great Spirit, Sacrificing, Singing, and Feasting. The last Ceremony is continued every day till they March out.

Some of these Parties go half way, or three quarters of their way in Canows; particularly [77] those who live upon the Banks of Lakes, as well as the *Iroquese*. The *Iroquese* have this advantage over their Enemies, that they are all Arm'd with good Fire-Locks; whereas the others who use those Engines only for the Shooting of Beasts, have not above half their number provided with 'em: And 'tis for this reason, that the nearer they come to their Enemies Country, the less

they spread out in Hunting or Shooting, especially with Fire-Arms, the report of which might Alarm the Enemy. When they come within thirty or forty Leagues of danger, they give over Hunting and Shooting, being afraid to fire their Guns; and content themselves with the *Indian Corn*, of which each of them carries a Bag of ten pound weight; and upon which they feed, after 'tis mix'd with a little Water without Boiling.

When the *Illinefe*, the *Outagamis*, the *Hurons*, and the *Sauteurs* wage War with the *Iroquefe*, and have a mind to make a bold Attempt; if there be but thirty of them, they'll march directly up to the end of the Village, presuming that in case of a discovery, they can easily save themselves by their good Heels. In the mean time, they have the Precaution to March one after another; and he that comes last takes care to strow the Ground with Leaves, in order to cover their footsteps. After they have past the Village, and are got into the *Iroquefe* Country, they run all night; and in the day time lye flat upon their Bellies, in the Copses and Thickets, being sometimes dispers'd, and sometimes all in a Body. Towards the Evening, or as soon as the Sun sets, they Spring out from their Ambuscade, and fall upon every one they meet, without sparing either Age or Sex: For 'tis a customary thing with these Warriours to shew no Mercy, not to Children and Women. After they have finish'd their Massacre, and taken [78] the Hair off the Heads of the Dead, they have the boldness to make a Funeral Cry. If they see any *Iroquefe* at a distance, they strain their Voices to acquaint 'em that they have kill'd some of their Folks, whom they may take care to Bury: That

the Action was accomplish'd by such a Leader and such a Nation. This done, they all betake themselves to Flight by different Roads, and run with their utmost speed till they come to a general place of Rendezvous, about thirty or forty Leagues off. In the mean time, the *Iroquefe* do not give themselves the trouble of pursuing them, as being sensible that they are not so nimble Footed as to overtake 'em.

If these Parties are two or three hundred Men strong, they'll venture to enter the Village in the Night time ; making one or two of their Warriours to Scale the Palissadoes and open the Gates, in case they are shut. But you must know, that the *Outaouas*, as well as the other Savages that have not so much Courage and Activity, content themselves with pursuing the *Iroquefe* in the Countries where they Hunt or Fish : For they dare not come within forty Leagues of their Villages, unless they know of a place of Refuge, in case of a discovery or pursuit : And there can be no other Refuge than some little Forts kept up by the *French*.

The Savages never take any Prisoners at the Gates of their Enemies Villages ; by reason of the Expedition they are oblig'd to make in running Night and Day to save themselves : 'Tis in the Hunting and Fishing Countries, and in the other places that afford them an opportunity of surprizing their Enemy, that they take 'em Prisoners : For upon such occasions, the weaker side being forc'd to give way, and to maintain a running Fight without any Order or Discipline, [79] while every one flies his own way, 'tis not possible but that the Conquerors must take Prisoners : And there's always some strong

brawny Savages who know how to throw down the Prisoner dextrously, and to bind him in a moment. But there are some of the defeated Parties, who choose rather to kill themselves than to be took Prisoners; and others are so obstinate that they must be Wounded before they can be catch'd. As soon as a Savage is Fetter'd, he sings his Death Song, after the manner describ'd in my 23d Letter. The *Iroquese* that have the misfortune to be catch'd, have nothing to expect but fearful Torture, if they fall into the hands of the *Oumamis*, the *Outaouas*, the *Algonkins*, and the Savages of *Acadia*: For these People are extream cruel to their Prisoners.<sup>1</sup> The least Punishment they inflict upon 'em, is, that of obliging the poor Wretches to put their Finger into the mouth of a lighted Pipe; which makes an agreeable diversion to the Conqueror in his Journey home. The other Nations use their Prisoners with much more Humanity. From hence we may conclude, that we ought to make a great difference between the several Nations of *Canada*; some of which are Warlike, others Cowardly; some a lively Active People, others Heavy and Dull: In a Word, the Case is the same in *America* as it is in *Europe*, where every Nation has not the Virtues or Vices of another. For the *Iroquese*, and the other Nations that I nam'd along with them, burn all their Prisoners; whereas the other Nations content themselves with the keeping of them in Slavery, without putting any to Death. 'Tis the first sort that I mean to speak of in the three ensuing Paragraphs.

<sup>1</sup> The torture of Indian captives, and the barbarities therein committed, are well-known. For early descriptions, see *Jes. Rel.*, i, p. 271; iv, pp. 199, 201; x, p. 227. — ED.

[80] As soon as a party of *Barbarians* approach their own Village, they make as many Dead-Cries as they have lost Men; and when they come within a Musquet-Shot of the Village, they renew the mournful Tune; and repeat it for a certain number of times answerable to the number of the slain among the Enemies. Then the Youths under sixteen, and above twelve years of age, Arm themselves with Sticks, and make a Lane in order to beat the Prisoners, which they put in execution as soon as the Warriours have made their entry, carrying the Hair of those they have slain upon the end of their Bows.

The next day, the old Men meet in Council upon the distribution of the Prisoners, which are commonly presented to such Married Women or Maids as have lost Relations in the Expedition, and to those that want Slaves. After the distribution is adjusted, three or four Young Scoundrels of the Age of fifteen, take the Prisoners and conduct them to these Women or Girls. Now, if the Woman to whom the present is made, means that the poor Wretch should die, she gives him to understand that her Father, her Brother, her Husband, &c. having no Slaves to serve them in the Country of the Dead, it behoves him to take a Journey thither out of hand. If evidence be brought that the poor Slave has kill'd either Women or Children in his lifetime, the young Executioners lead him to a Woodpile, where he is forc'd to undergo the dismal Torments mentioned in my 23d Letter; and sometimes somewhat that is yet more terrible. But if the unfortunate Prisoner can make it appear that he only kill'd



Men, they content themselves with the Shooting of him. If the Woman or Girl has a mind to save the Prisoners life (which often happens) she takes him by the hand; and [81] after conducting him into the Hut, cuts his Bonds and orders him Cloaths, Arms, Victuals and Tobacco. This favour is usually accompany'd with these words. *I have given thee thy life, I have knock'd off thy chains, pluck up a good heart, serve me well, be not ill minded, and thou shalt have whereupon to comfort thee for the loss of thy Country and thy Relations.* Sometimes the *Iroquesse* Women adopt the Slaves that are presented to 'em, and then they are look'd upon as Members of the Nation. As for the Women Prisoners they are distributed among the Men, who are sure to grant 'em their lives.<sup>1</sup>

You must take notice that the Savages of *Canada* never exchange their Prisoners.<sup>2</sup> As soon as they are put in Chains, their Relations and the whole Nation to which they retain, look upon 'em as dead; unless it be that they were so much Wounded when they were taken, that they could not possibly kill themselves. These indeed they receive when they make their escape; but if the other Prisoners should offer to return, they would be condemn'd by their nearest Relations, and no body would receive 'em. The way of waging War among the Savages is so harsh, that one must have a Body of Steel to

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<sup>1</sup> This custom of adoption of prisoners was one of great value to the white captives, and saved the lives of many. See Withers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare* (Thwaites's ed., Cincinnati, 1895), for typical instances. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> The author means that captives are not exchanged while a state of war persists between the tribes. Upon the arrangement of peace, the captives are all returned. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvi, pp. 447-451; 465-467. — ED.

bear the Fatigues they are oblig'd to undergo. Now if we joyn to this inconveniency that of their giving but little Quarter to one another; and for the most part, without any regard either to Women or Children, we will not think it strange that the number of their Warriours is so small, that sometimes one Nation can scarce muster up a thousand.

The Savages are never rash in declaring War; they hold frequent Councils before they resolve upon it, and must be very well assur'd of the steadiness of the Neighbouring Nations, whose [82] Alliance or Neutrality they require. Besides, before they come to such a resolution, they make it their business to fathom the Minds of such Nations as lye remote; to the end that they may take just measures, by weighing all the Consequences seriously, and endeavouring to foresee all the accidents that may happen. They use the Precaution of sending Deputies to the People whom they propose for their Allies, to make a narrow inquiry whether their Old Men have Heads well turn'd for Government, and for the giving of judicious and seasonable Counsels to their Warriours, whose number they want to know as well as their Valour and Experience. The next thing that they have in view, is the carrying on of the Trade of Skins with the *French* without disadvantage, and the Hunting of Beavers in Winter without exposing themselves to danger. After all, they make this proposal to their Allies; that they shall engage not to put an end to the War till their Enemies are intirely destroy'd, or else oblig'd to abdicate their Country.

Their way of declaring War is this: They send back to

the Nation that they have a mind to quarrel with, a Slave of the same Country; with orders to carry to the Village of his own Nation an Axe, the Handle of which is painted red and black. Sometimes they send three or four such Slaves, obliging them to promise before hand, that they shall not bear Arms against them; and commonly this Promise is religiously observed.<sup>1</sup>

It remains only to acquaint you how they make Peace; you must know that the Savages never think of an Accommodation till after a long War: But when they are sensible that 'tis their Interest to come to it they detach five, or ten, or fifteen, or twenty Warriors, to make a [83] Proposal to the Enemies. These Commissioners go sometimes by Land, and sometimes in Canoes, and always carry the great Calumet of Peace in their Hand, much after the same manner as a Cornet carries his Standard. I set forth in my Seventh Letter what a profound Veneration all the Savages of *Canada* have for this famous Pipe. There was not one Instance of their Violating the Sacred Rights of this Pipe before the Embassy of *Chevalier Do*, at which time they took occasion to revenge the Business of the *Rat*, as I gave you to know in my Seventeenth Letter. If the Commissioners of Peace march by Land, as soon as they arrive within a Musket-shot of the Village, some young Men march out and post themselves in an oval Figure. This done, the Commissioner that carries that great sign of Peace, makes up towards them, singing and dancing the Calumet Dance;

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<sup>1</sup> This is a rare custom, the object being to surprise the enemy before he is prepared for war. — ED.

which he continues to do while the old Men meet in Council. If the Inhabitants of the Village do not think it proper to accept of the Proposal of Peace, their Orator or Speaker makes a Harangue to the Envoy that carries the Calumet, who upon that goes and rejoins his Company. This Pacifick Retinue is regal'd with Presents of Tents, Corn, Meat and Fish; but at the same time they are acquainted that they must depart their Country the next Day. If on the other Hand, the old Men agree to the conclusion of a Peace, they march out and meet the Commissioners, and after conducting the whole Company into the Village, provide them with extraordinary good Lodgings and a plentiful Table, during the whole course of the Negotiation. When the Commissioners come by Water they send out a Canow while the rest lye by; and as soon as this Canow comes near to the Village, the Inhabitants [84] of the Village send out another to meet it, and conduct the Proposer of Peace to their Habitations, where the Ceremonies are perform'd after the same manner as before.<sup>1</sup> This great Calumet is likewise made use of by the Confederate Savages, that demand Passage thro' the Country of their Allies, whether by Land or Water, in pursuance of Warlike or Hunting Expeditions.

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<sup>1</sup> The person of an envoy was sacred among Indian tribes, and to maltreat one was the worst of insults. Dorsey describes similar ceremonies as persisting among the Omaha. U. S. Bur. of Eth. *Report*, 1881-82, p. 368. — ED.

*A View of the Heraldry, or the Coats of Arms  
of the Savages.*

AFTER a perusal of the former Accounts I sent you of the Ignorance of the Savages with reference to Sciences, you will not think it strange that they are unacquainted with Heraldry. The Figures you have represented in this Cut will certainly appear ridiculous to you, and indeed they are nothing less: But after all you'll content your self with excusing these poor Wretches, without rallying upon their extravagant Fancies. They make use of the Blazoning represented in the Cut, for the following Purposes.<sup>1</sup>

When a Party of Savages have routed their Enemies in any Place whatsoever, the Conquerours take care to pull the Bark off the Trees for the height of five or six Foot in all Places where they stop in returning to their own Country; and in honour of their Victory paint certain Images with Coal pounded and beat up with Fat and Oyl. These Pictures,

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<sup>1</sup> Lahontan's somewhat absurd and distorted description of Indian heraldry probably arose from his misconception of the institution of totemism—a primitive superstition by which each gens or clan of a tribe adopted some animal as a totem or mythical protector. One of the earliest uses of the term "totemism" was by John Long (see Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, ii, pp. 123–125), but there is now a large literature upon this subject. See M'Lennan, *Patriarchal Theory*; Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* (London, 1887); Brinton, *Myths of New World*; and sociological articles in U. S. Bur. of Eth. *Reports*, already cited. — ED.

which are design'd and explain'd in the ensuing Chapter, continue upon the peel'd Tree for ten or twelve [85] Years, as if they were Grav'd, without being defac'd by the Rain.

This they do to give all Passengers to understand what Exploits they have done. The Arms for the Nation, and sometimes a particular Mark for the Leader of the Party, are painted in Colours upon these strip'd Trees; and for that reason 'twil not be improper to subjoin a Description of 'em.

The five *Outaouase* Nations have a *Sinople* or Green Field, with four Elks in Sable Canton'd, and looking to the four Corners of the Escutcheon, there being a heap of Sand in the middle.

The *Illinese* bear a Beech Leaf with a Butterfly Argent.

The *Nadouessis* or *Scioux* have a Squirrel *Gules*, gnawing a Citron *Or*.

The *Hurons* bear a Beaver Sable, set squat upon a Beaver Kennel Argent, the midst of a Pool or Lake.

The *Outagamis* bear a Meadow Sinople, cross'd by a winding River Pale, with two Foxes *Gules* at the two Extremities of the River, in Chief and Point.

The *Pouteoutamis* call'd *Puants* bear a Dog in Argent, sleeping upon a Mat *d' Or*. These People observe the Rules of Blazoning less than the other Nations.

The *Oumamis* have a Bear Sable, pulling down with his two Paws a Tree Sinople mossy, and laid along the Escutcheon.

The *Oucabipoues*, call'd *Sauteurs*, have an Eagle Sable, pearching upon the top of a Rock Argent, and devouring an Owl *Gules*.

[86] *An Explication of the Hieroglyphicks that stand opposite to the Letters A B C D E F G H I K, being plac'd at the side of a Column representing the Foot of a suppos'd Tree.*

IF we take the Word *Hieroglyphick* in its natural Sense, 'tis only a Representation of Sacred and Divine Objects, Calculated according to the *Ideas* we have of 'em. But without any regard to the Etymology, I choose rather to make use of the common Priviledge of an infinity of Authors, in bestowing the Title of Hieroglyphick Symbols upon all these Figures that correspond to the following Letters.<sup>1</sup>

*A.* Opposite to this Letter you see the Arms of *France*, with an Ax above. Now the Ax is a Symbol of War among the Savages, as the Calumet is the Bond of Peace: So that this imports, that the *French* have taken up the Ax, or have made a Warlike Expedition with as many tens of Men as there are Marks or Points round the Figure. These Marks you see are Eighteen in number, and so they signify an Hundred and eighty Warriors.

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of picture writing see Mallery, "Picture-Writing of American Indians" in U. S. Bur. of Eth. *Report*, 1888-89; *Jes. Rel.*, lxvii, p. 227; Hoffman, "On Native Indian Pictographs," in *Catholic University Bulletin* (Washington), April, 1897. — ED.

*B.* Over against this Letter you meet with a Mountain that represents the City of *Monreal*, (according to the Savages) and the Fowl upon the Wing at the top signifies Departure. The Moon upon the Back of the Stag signifies the first Quarter of the *July* Moon, which is call'd the *Stag-Moon*.

[87] *C.* Opposite to this Letter you descry a Canow, importing that they have travel'd by Water as many Days as you see Huts in the Figure, *i. e.* 21 Days.

*D.* Upon the same parallel with this Letter you see a Foot, importing that after their Voyage by Water they march'd on Foot as many Days as there are Huts design'd; that is, seven Days Journeys for Warriors, each Days Journey being as much as five common *French* Leagues, or five of those which are reckon'd to be twenty in a Degree.

*E.* By this Letter you perceive a Hand and three Huts, which signify that they are got within three Days Journey of the *Iroquesse Tsonnontouans*, whose Arms are a Hut with two Trees leaning downwards, as you see them drawn. The Sun imports that they were just to the Eastward of the Village: For you must observe, that if they had march'd to the Westward the Arms of these Savages had been plac'd where the Hand is, and the Hand had been turn'd and plac'd where you now see the Hut with the two Trees.

*F.* Opposite to this Letter you perceive twelve Marks, signifying so many times ten Men, like those at the Letter *A*. The Hut with the two Trees being the Arms of the *Tsonnontouans* shews that they were of that Nation; and the Man in a lying posture speaks that they were surpris'd.



G. In the row which answers to this Letter there appears a Club and eleven Heads, importing that they had kill'd eleven *Tsonnontouans*, and the five Men standing upright upon the five Marks signifie, that they took as many times ten Prisoners of War.

[88] H. Opposite to this Letter you see nine Heads in an Arch, the meaning of which is, that nine of the Aggressors or of the Victorious side (which I supposed to be *French*) were kill'd; and the twelve Marks underneath signifie that as many were Wounded.

I. Opposite to this Letter you see Arrows flying in the Air, some to one side and some to the other, importing a vigorous Defence on both sides.

K. At this Letter you see the Arrows all pointed one way, which speaks the worsted Party either flying or fighting upon a Retreat in disorder.

The meaning of the whole is in a few Words as follows. An Hundred and eighty *French* Men set out from *Monreal* in the first Quarter of the *July* Moon, and sail'd twenty one Days; after which they march'd thirty five Leagues over Land and surpris'd a hundred and twenty *Tsonnontouans* on the East side of their Village, eleven of whom were Kill'd, and fifty taken Prisoners; the *French* sustaining the loss of nine Kill'd and twelve Wounded, after a very obstinate Engagement.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The drawings accompanying this description are evidently the work of a European quite unacquainted with Indian pictographs. For correct drawings of Indian representations of expeditions and battles, see illustrations in Mallery, *op. cit.*, pp. 552-556; Thwaites, "Atlas of Maximilien's Voyage," in *Early Western Travels*, xxv. — Ed.

This may serve to prompt you and me to return thanks to God for vouchsafing to us the means of expressing our Thoughts by the bare ranking of twenty three Letters, and above all of Writing in less than a Minute a Discourse that the *Americans* cannot Decypher with their impertinent Hieroglyphicks in the space of an Hour. Though the number of those dark Symbols is of no large extent, yet 'tis very perplexing to an *European*; for which Reason I have contented my self in learning only such of 'em as are most Essential; the knowledge of which [89] I owe to Necessity more than Curiosity. I could send you others that are as extravagant as these I now send you; but considering that they will be of no use to you, I choose to save my self the labour of drawing them upon Paper, and you the trouble of looking 'em over.

*I am, Sir,*

*Yours, &c.*



[90] A  
CONFERENCE  
OR  
DIALOGUE  
BETWEEN THE  
*AUTHOR* and *ADARIO*,  
A Noted Man among the  
SAVAGES.  
CONTAINING

*A Circumstantial View of the Customs and Humours  
of that People.*

*Labontan.* I AM infinitely well pleas'd, my dear *Adario*, that I have an opportunity of reasoning with you upon a Subject of the greatest Importance; for my business is to unfold to you the great Truths of Christianity.

*Adario*, I am ready to hear thee, my dear Brother, in order to be inform'd of a great many things that the Jesuits have been Preaching up [91] for a long time; and I would have us to discourse together with all the freedom that may be. If your Belief is the same with that of the Jesuits,

'tis in vain to enter into a Conference; for they have entertain'd me with so many Fabulous and Romantick Stories, that all the credit I can give 'em, is to believe, that they have more Sense than to believe themselves.

*Labontan.* I do not know what they have said to you; but I am apt to believe that their Words and mine will agree very well together. The Christian Religion is a Religion that Men ought to profess in order to obtain a place in Heaven. God hath permitted the discovery of *America*, meaning to save all Nations that will follow the Laws of Christianity. 'Twas his Divine Pleasure that the Gospel should be Preach'd to thy Nation, that they may be inform'd of the true way to Paradise, the blessed Mansion of good Souls. 'Tis pity thou wilt not be persuaded to make the best use of the Favours and the Talents that God hath bestow'd upon thee. Life is short; the Hour of our Death is uncertain, and Time is precious. Undeceive thy self therefore, as to the imagin'd Severity of Christianity, and imbrace it without delay, regranting the loss of those Days thou has spent in Ignorance, without a due sense of Religion and Worship, and without the knowledge of the true God.

*Adario.* How do you mean, *without the Knowledge of the True God?* What! are you mad? Do'st thou believe we are void of Religion, after thou hast dwelt so long amongst us? Do'st not thee know in the first place, that we acknowledge a Creator of the Universe, under the Title of the Great Spirit or Master of Life; whom we believe to be in every thing, and to be unconfined to Limits? 2. That we own the Immor-

talities of the Soul.<sup>1</sup> [92] 3. That the Great Spirit has furnish'd us with a Rational Faculty, capable of distinguishing Good from Evil, as much as Heaven from Earth; to the end that we might Religiously observe the true Measures of Justice and Wisdom. 4. That the Tranquility and Serenity of the Soul pleases the Great Master of Life: And on the other hand, that he abhors trouble and anxiety of Mind, because it renders Men Wicked. 5. That Life is a Dream, and Death the Season of Awaking, in which the Soul sees and knows the Nature and Quality of all things, whether visible or invisible. 6. That the utmost reach of our Minds can't go one Inch above the Surface of the Earth: So that we ought not to corrupt and spoil it by endeavouring to pry into Invisible and Improbable things. This my dear Friend is Our Belief, and we act up to it with the greatest Exactness. We believe that we shall go to the Country of Souls after death; but we have no such apprehension as you have, of a good and bad Mansion after this Life, provided for the good and bad Souls; for we cannot tell whether every thing that appears faulty to Men, is so in the Eyes of God. If your Religion differs from ours, it do's not follow that we have none at all. Thou knowest that I have been in *France*, *New-York* and *Quebec*; where I Study'd the Customs and Doctrines of the *English* and *French*.<sup>2</sup> The *Jesuits* allege, that out of five or six hun-

<sup>1</sup> On Indian religious beliefs, see pp. 435, note 1, *ante*. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> For a brief biography of Adario see p. 149, note 2, *ante*. Lahontan is the only contemporary authority who speaks of the travels of this interesting savage; but a letter of 1691 mentions a Huron who is about to pass into France, and wishes to see the king. Possibly this may have been Adario, the most noted of his tribe. See *Canadian Archives*, 1885, p. lvi. — ED.

dred forts of Religions, there's only one that is the good and the true Religion, and that's their own; out of which no Man shall 'scape the Flames of a Fire that will burn his Soul to all Eternity. This is their allegation: But when they have said all, they cannot offer any Proof for it.

[93] *Labontan.* They have a great deal of reason, *Adario*, to assert that there are bad Souls; for without straggling far for a Proof, they need only to give thine for an Instance. He that is unacquainted with the Truths of the *Christian Religion*, is not capable of receiving a Proof. All that thou hast offer'd in thy own defence is prodigious Madness. The Country of Souls that thou speakest of is only a Chimerical Hunting Country: Whereas our Holy Scriptures inform us of a Paradise, Seated above the remotest Stars, where God does actually reside; being incircled with Glory, and the Souls of all the Faithful Christians. The same very Scriptures make mention of a Hell, which we take to be Situated in the Centre of the Earth: And in which the Souls of all such as reject Christianity, as well as those of bad Christians, will burn for ever without Consumption. This is a Truth that you ought to think of.

*Adario.* These Holy Scriptures that thou quotest every foot, as well as the *Jesuits*, require that mighty Faith which the Good Fathers are always teasing us with. But this can be nothing but a persuasion: To believe, Imports no more than to be persuaded of a thing: and to be persuaded or convinc'd, is to see a thing with one's eyes, or to have it recommended by clear and solid Truths. Now how can I have that Faith,

since thou canst neither prove a tittle of what thou say'st, nor shew it me before my eyes. Believe me, my Friend; do not wrap up thy Mind in obscurity; give over the visionary thoughts of these Holy Scriptures, or else let us make an end of our Conferences upon that Head; for according to our Principles, we must have probability in every thing we admit of. What Ground hast thou for the Destiny of the good Souls, who are [94] lodg'd with the Great Spirit above the Stars, or the Fate of the bad ones that shall burn for ever in the Centre of the Earth? Thou canst not but charge God with Tyranny, if thou believest that he Created but one single Man, with intent to render him eternally Miserable amidst the Flames in the Centre of the Earth. I know you'll pretend, that the Holy Scriptures prove that Great Truth: But granting it to be so, then the Earth must be of eternal Duration; which the *Jesuits* deny. That flaming Place must therefore cease to be, when the Earth comes to be consum'd. Besides, how canst thou imagine, that the Soul which is a pure Spirit, a thousand times subtiler and lighter than Smoak; how canst thou imagine, I say, that this airy Being should move to the Centre of the Earth, contrary to its natural tendency? 'Tis more likely, it should mount upwards and fly to the Sun, where you may fix that fiery place more reasonably; especially considering that this Star is much bigger, and infinitely more hot than the Earth.

*Labontan.* Hark ye me, my dear *Adario*, thy Blindness is screw'd up to an extremity, and the hardness of thy Heart makes thee reject this Faith and these Scriptures; the truth



of which does easily appear, if one would but lay aside Prejudices: For you have nothing to do but to cast your Eye upon the Prophecies contain'd in the Sacred Pages; which beyond all dispute were Written before they came to pass. This Sacred History is confirm'd by *Heathen* Authors, and by the Monuments of greatest Antiquity, and those the most uncontested that past Ages can afford. Believe me, if thou wouldst but reflect upon the manner in which the Religion of *Jesus Christ* was Establish'd in the World, and the Change that it wrought; if thou hadst but a just view of the [95] Characters of Truth, Sincerity and Divinity that shine in the Scriptures: In a word, if thou didst but enter into the particulars of our Religion; thou wouldst see and be sensible, that its Doctrines and Precepts, its Promises and Threats, are not chargeable with any absurdity; nor with any ill design, or any thing that runs contrary to our natural Sentiments: And that nothing is more suitable to right Reason, and the Principles of Conscience.

*Adario.* This is the same Stuff that the *Jesuits* have had up above a hundred times. They will have it, that some five or six thousand years ago, all that is since come to pass, was then unchangeably decreed. They lay down the way in which the Heavens and the Earth were Created; and tell you, that Man was made of the Dust of the Earth, and the Woman out of one of his Ribs, as if God had not made her of the same Stuff; that a Serpent tempted this Man in a Garden of Fruit-Trees to eat of an Apple, which was the occasion that the Great Spirit put his own Son to Death, on purpose to save

all men. If I should say that these advances have a greater appearance of fabulousness than of truth, you would close upon me with Reasons fetch'd from your Bible : But according to your own words, this Scripture of yours had not always a Being ; the invention of it bears the date of some three thousand years ago ; and 'twas not Printed till within these four or five Centuries. Now, considering the divers events that come round in the course of several Ages, one must certainly be very credulous in giving credit to so many idle Stories as are huddled up in that great Book that the Christians would have us to believe. I have seen some of the Books that the *Jesuits* Writ of our Country ; and those who knew how to read [96] 'em, explain'd to me the sense of 'em in the Language that I speak ; but I found they contain'd an infinity of Lyes and Fictions heap'd up one above another. Now, if we see with our eyes that Lyes are in Print, and that things are not represented in Paper as they really are ; how can you press me to believe the Sincerity of your Bible that was Writ so many Ages ago, and Translated out of several Languages by ignorant Men that could not reach the just Sense, or by Lyars who have alter'd, interpolated, or pared the Words you now read. I could mention several other Objections, which in the end will perhaps influence thee in some measure, to own that I have some reason to confine my Belief to such things as are visible and probable.

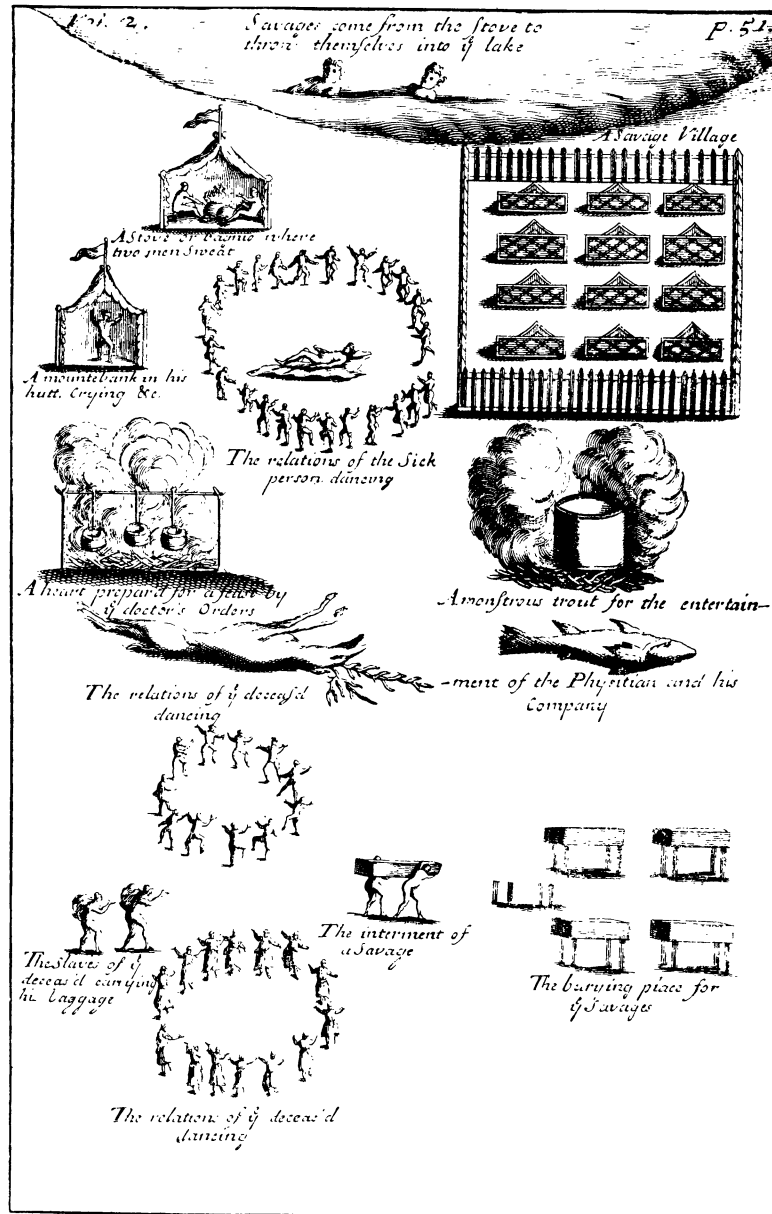
*Labontan.* Poor *Adario*, I have laid before thee, the certainty and evidence of the Christian Religion ; but instead of being convinc'd, thou look'st upon my Proofs as Chimerical,

and offereſt the moſt fooliſh Reaſons in the World. You quote the Fallhoods Written in the Accounts of your Country that you have ſeen; as if the Jeſuits who Writ 'em could not have been impos'd upon by thoſe who ſupplied them with ſuch Memoirs.<sup>1</sup> You muſt conſider, that theſe Deſcriptions of *Canada* are Bawbles that cannot come into the Ballance with the Books that treat of Sacred things; ſuch things as a hundred different Authours have Writ of, without contradiſting one another.

*Adario.* How do you mean, *without contradiſting one another?* Why! That Book of Holy Things, is not it full of Contradiſtions? Theſe Gospels that the Jeſuits ſpeak of, do not they occaſion diſcord between the *French* and the *English*? And yet if we take your word for it, every Period of that Book ſprung from the Mouth [97] of the Great Spirit. But if the Great Spirit mean'd that his Words ſhould be underſtood, why did he talk ſo confuſedly, and cloath his Words with an ambiguous Senſe? One or two things muſt follow from this advance. If he was born and died upon the Earth, and made ſpeeches here, why, then his diſcourſes muſt be loſt; for he would certainly have ſpoke ſo diſtinctly and plainly, that the very Children might conceive his meaning. Or, if you will have the Gospels to be his genuine Words, and contain nothing but what flow'd from him; why, then he muſt have come to raiſe Wars in the World inſtead of Peace; which cannot be. The *English* have told me that tho' their Gospels contain the ſame Words with the *French*, yet there's as great

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<sup>1</sup> Upon the early Jeſuit hiſtories of Canada, ſee p. 412, note 1, *ante*. —ED.





a difference between their Religion and yours, as between Night and Day. They say positively that their's is the best; and on the other hand, the Jesuits allege, that the Religion of the *English*, and of a thousand Nations besides, is good for nothing. If there be but one true Religion upon Earth, who must I believe in this case? Who is it that do's not take their own Religion to be the most perfect? How can the Capacity of Man be able to single out that Divine Religion from amongst so many more, that lay claim to the same Title? Believe me, my dear Brother, the Great Spirit is Wise, all his Works are perfect; 'tis he that made us, and he knows perfectly well what will become of us. 'Tis our part to act freely, without perplexing our thoughts about future things. He order'd thee to be Born in *France*, with intent that thou shouldest believe what thou neither seest nor conceivest; and me he has caus'd to be Born a *Huron*, to the end that I should give credit to nothing but what I understand, and what my reason teaches me.

[98] *Labontan*. Reason teaches thee to be a Christian, and yet you refuse to be such. If you would, you might understand the Truths of our Gospel, in which all things are of a piece, and nothing can be found that favours of Contradiction. The *English* are Christians as well as the *French*; and tho' these two Nations have some difference upon the score of Religion, it only relates to some Passages of Scripture, that they understand different ways. The first and principal point that occasions so many disputes, is this. The *French* believe that since the Son of God said, that his Body was in a morsel of Bread;

we are bound to take it for a truth, in regard that he could not lie. He told his Apostles that the Bread was truly his Body, and that they ought to eat it, and to perpetuate that Ceremony in Commemoration of him. Accordingly this Precept is observ'd; for since the death of that God made Man, the Sacrifice of the Mass is perform'd every day among the *French*, who make no doubt of the real presence of the Son of God in that bit of Bread. But the *English* pretend, that the Son of God being in Heaven, cannot be Corporally present upon Earth, and that his words insuing upon that Institution (the repetition of which would be tedious to thee) are evidence that he is only Spiritually present in the Bread. This is all the difference between them and us; for as to the other Points, they are so trifling, that we could easily come to an accommodation upon 'em.

*Adario.* I perceive then, the words of the Son of the Great Spirit are chargeable with self-contradiction or obscurity; for as much as you and the *English* dispute about his meaning with so much heat and animosity: And this seems to be the principal Spring of the hatred that these two [99] Nations bear to one another. But that is not what I insist upon. Dost thou hear, my Brother; both the one and the other must needs be fools, in believing the Incarnation of a God; considering the ambiguity of those Discourses mention'd in your Gospel. There you meet with an infinity of things which are too gross to come from the Mouth of so perfect a Being. The Jesuits assure us, that the Son of the Great Spirit declar'd that he sincerely desired the Salvation of all Men.

Now, if he desires it, doubtless it must come to pass; and yet they are not all Sav'd neither, for as much as he has said; *many are call'd, but few are chosen*. This I take to be a plain Contradiction. The Fathers reply, that God does desire the Salvation of men, but upon the condition that they desire it themselves. But after all, we do not find that God has added that Clause, for if he had, he had not spoke so positively. But the Mystery lies here. The Jesuits have a mind to pry into the Secrets of the Almighty, and to assume what himself did not pretend to, for he mention'd no such condition. The case is the same, as if the great Captain General of the *French* should give notice by his Viceroy, that 'tis his pleasure that all the Slaves of *Canada* should be Transported to *France*, where they might all grow rich; and thereupon the Slaves should make answer that they will not go, because that great Captain cannot desire it unless they be of the same mind themselves. Is not it true, my Brother, that their answer would be ridicul'd, and they would be forc'd to go to *France* against their will? Can you offer anything to the contrary? In a word, the Jesuits have commented to me upon so many Expressions in that Book that contradict one another, that I'm amaz'd to find that they still call it the [100] Holy Scriptures. 'Tis written there, that the first man whom the Great Spirit made with his own Hands, did eat of a forbidden Fruit, for which both he and his Wife were punish'd, as being equally Criminal. Now, let's suppose the Punishment inflicted upon the account of the Apple to be what you will; this poor Man had nothing to complain of, but that the Great Spirit



knowing that he would eat of it, should have Created him to be Miserable. But let's consider the case of his Posterity, who according to the Jesuits are involv'd in his Overthrow: Are the Children Blame-worthy for the Gluttony of their Father and their Mother? If a man Murder'd one of our Kings, must the Punishment reach to his whole Generation; to Fathers, Mothers, Uncles, Cousins, Sisters, Brothers, and all his other Relations? Shall we suppose, therefore, that when the Great Spirit gave this Man a Being, he knew not what he might do after his Creation? But that cannot be. But let's suppose again that all his Posterity were accomplices of the Crime, (which at the same time is an unjust supposition) do's not your Scripture make this Great Spirit to be a Being of such Mercy and Clemency, that his Loving-Kindness to the Human Race leaves all Conception far behind it? Is not he so great and so puissant, that if all the Spirits of men that either are, or have been, or are to come, were united in one Person, 'twould be impossible for that Mighty one to comprehend the least tittle of his Omnipotence? Now, since his goodness and mercy are so transcendent, can't he by one Word vouchsafe a Pardon to that man and all his descendants? And since he is so powerful and great, how improbable is it, that such an Incomprehensible Being should turn himself into a Man, and not only live a miserable Life, [101] but die an infamous Death; in order to expiate the Sin of so mean a Creature, that is as much or more beneath him, as a Flie is beneath the Sun and the Stars? Where would that infinite Power be then? What use would it be of to him,

and what advantage would he make of it? To my mind, to believe the debasing of the Divine Nature, speaks a doubt of the Incomprehensible reach of his Omnipotence, and an extravagant Presumption with respect to our selves.

*Labontan.* Do'st not thou perceive, my dear *Adario*, that the Great Spirit being so powerful, and intitled to the Perfections you have nam'd, the Sin of our Primitive Father must by consequence be the most enormous and heinous Crime that imagination it self can reach? To make the case plain by an example; If I beat one of my Soldiers, there's no harm done, but if I offer'd an affront to the King, my Crime would be inflam'd to the last degree, and be justly accounted unpardonable. Now, *Adam* having offer'd a piece of Indignity to the King of Kings, we come into the list of his Accomplices, as being part of his Soul; and consequently the Divine Justice requires such a Satisfaction as the Death of his Son. 'Tis true, God could have Pardon'd us with one Word; but for reasons that I cannot give you easily to understand, he was graciously pleas'd to live and to die for all Mankind. I own that he is merciful, and that he might have acquitted Adam the same day that the Crime was committed; for his Mercy is the ground of all the hopes we have of Salvation: But if he had not repented *Adam's* Disobedience, his Prohibition had been a jest. Had he overlook'd it, the consequence would have been that he did not speak seriously; and upon that foot, all the World would have had a just Plea for doing what they pleas'd.

[102] *Adario.* Hitherto thou provest nothing; and the

more I sift the pretended Incarnation, I find it the less probable. What! To think that this Great and Incomprehensible Being, the Creator of the Earth, of the Seas, and of this vast Firmament, should be capable of debasing himself so far, as to lye nine Months Prisoner in the Bowels of a Woman, and expose himself to the miserable Life of his Fellow Sinners, that Writ the Books of your Gospel; to be Beaten, Whip'd, and Crucify'd like an unhappy Wretch; this, I say, is what can't enter into my thoughts. 'Tis written, that he came upon the Earth on purpose to die there, and with the same Breath 'tis said that he was afraid to die. This implies a Contradiction two ways. In the first place, if his design was to be Born, in order to die, he ought not to have dreaded death; for, what is the ground of the fear of death? The dread of death proceeds from this, that one do's not know what will become of 'em when they depart this Life. But he was not unacquainted with the place he was bound for, so that he had no reason to be afraid. You know very well that we and our Wives Poyson our selves frequently, in order to keep one another Company in the Regions of the dead, when one or t'other is snatch'd away.<sup>1</sup> So you see plainly the loss of Life does not scare us, tho' at the same time, we are not certain what course our Souls will steer. What answer canst thee give me upon this Head? In a second place; Since the Son of the Great Spirit was invested with a Power equal to that of his Father; he had no occasion to pray his Father to

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<sup>1</sup> Suicide by poisoning was not infrequent among Indians, although not deemed commendable. See *Jes. Rel.*, index, caption Suicide. — Ed.

save his Life, in regard that he was able to guard off Death by his own Power; and that in praying to his Father he pray'd to himself. As for my part, my dear Brother, I can't have any notion [103] of what thou wouldest have me to Conceive.

*Labontan.* I find you were in the right of it in telling me but now, that your capacity would not reach an inch above the surface of the Earth. Your way of Reasoning is sufficient Proof of your Assertion. Now that I have heard this, I do not think it strange that the Jesuits have so much trouble in Preaching to you, and giving you to understand the Sacred Truths. I play the fool in reasoning with a Savage, that is not capable of distinguishing a Chimerical Supposition from a certain and a standing Principle, or a Consequence well drawn from a false Inference. To give you an instance. When you spake of this truth, that God was willing to save all men, and at the same time that they are but few who are sav'd; you charg'd a Contradiction upon it, and at the same time there's no such thing in the case: For he desires to save all men that wish their own Salvation, by observing his Law and his Precepts; that is, such as believe his Incarnation, the truth of the Gospels, the rewards provided for the Good, the punishments prepared for the Wicked, and a State of Futurity. But in regard that few such will be found, all the rest are doom'd to the everlasting Flames of that Fire that you make a jest of. Take care you are not one of the latter Clafs. If it should happen so, 'twould be a great trouble to me, because thou art my Friend. You will not say then, that the Gospel is cramm'd with Contradictions and Chimæra's; you will not

then require grofs Proofs for all the Truths I have laid before you ; you'll repent in earnest of having branded our Evangelists for weak and filly Tale-tellers. But, the worst is, 'twill then be too late. Prithee, think of all this, and be not so very obstinate ; [104] for, in earnest, if thou dost not yield to the uncontestable Reasons that I produce for our Mysteries, I will never speak to thee as long as I live.

*Adario.* Ha ! my Brother, do not trouble thy head, I do not pretend to provoke thee by offering my Reasons. I do not hinder thee to believe the Gospels : I only beg the favour that thou'lt suffer me to doubt the truth of all the Advances thou hast made. Nothing can be more natural to the Christians than to believe the Holy Scriptures, upon the account, that from their Infancy they have heard so much of 'em, that in imitation of so many People Educated in the same Faith, they have 'em so much Imprinted upon their Imagination, that Reason has no farther influence upon their Minds, they being already prepossess'd with a firm belief of the truth of the Gospels. To People that are void of Prejudice, such as the *Hurons*, there's nothing so reasonable, as to examine things narrowly. Now, after frequent reflexions for the course of ten years upon what the Jesuits Preach'd of the Life and Death of the Son of the Great Spirit, I must tell you, that all my *Hurons* will give thee forty reasons to the contrary. As for my own part, I have always maintain'd that if 'twere possible that the Great Spirit had been so mean, as to descend to the Earth, he had shewn himself to all the Inhabitants of the Earth ; he had descended in Triumph, and in publick view,

with Splendour and Majesty ; he had rais'd the dead, restor'd sight to the blind, made the lame to walk upright, cur'd all the diseases upon the Earth : In fine, he had spoke and commanded all that he had a mind to have done, he had gone from Nation to Nation to work these great Miracles, and to give the same Laws to the whole World. Had he done so, we had been all of the same [105] Religion, and that great Uniformity spread over the face of the Earth, would be a lasting Proof to our Posterity for ten thousand years to come, of the truth of a Religion that was known and receiv'd with equal approbation in the four Corners of the Earth. But instead of that Uniformity, we find five or six hundred Religions, among which that Profess'd by the *French*, is according to your Argument the only true one, the only one that is Good and Holy. In fine, after I had reflected a thousand times upon those Riddles that you call Mysteries, I was of the Opinion that a Man must be Born beyond the great Lake<sup>1</sup>; that is, he must be an *English-man* or a *French-man*, that can form any Idea of 'em. For when they allege that God, who can't be represented under any Figure ; could produce a Son under the Figure of a Man : I am ready to reply, that a Woman can't bring forth a Beaver ; by reason that in the course of Nature, every Species produces its like. Besides, if before the coming of the Son of God all men were devoted to the Devil, what reason have we to think that he would assume the Form of such Creatures as were lifted into the Service of the

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<sup>1</sup> "Beyond the Great Lake" was a common rendition of the Indian term for the land across the ocean. — Ed.

Devil. Could not he take upon him another Form, which might be finer and more pompous than the Humane? That he might, is the more reasonable, since the third Person of that Trinity (which is so inconsistent with Unity) assum'd the Form of a Dove.

*Labontan.* Thou hast drawn up a Savage sort of a System by inventing Chimæra's that are nothing to the purpose. Give me leave to tell thee once more, that I see 'tis in vain for me to attempt to convince thee by solid Reasons, in regard that thou art not capable of understanding 'em. I must therefore refer you to the Jesuits. [106] In the mean time, I have a mind to give you to understand one thing that's very plain, and that will fall within the Verge of your Genius, *viz.* That 'tis not the bare believing of the Great Truths of the Gospel which you deny, that is sufficient to conduct one to the Mansions of the Great Spirit. Over and above the belief, one must inviolably observe the Precepts of the Law that is there deliver'd; that is to say, one must not adore any thing but the Great Spirit alone, one must not work on the days allotted for solemn Prayer, one must honour their Father and their Mother, and not only avoid the embraces of Girles, but be free from an inclination that way, unless it be upon the foot of Marriage. 'Tis requir'd for this end, that we should not kill or promote the killing of any one; that we should not speak ill of our Brethren, or utter Lies, or touch another man's Wife, or incroach upon the property of our Brethren. We must go to Mass on the days appointed for that purpose by the Jesuits, and Fast some days of the week. For tho'

you believ'd the Holy Scriptures as much as we do, unless you observe the Precepts they contain, you'll be doom'd to everlasting Flames after your death.

*Adario.* So, my dear Brother, this is what I expected. 'Tis a long time since I knew all that thou hast now set forth; and indeed I take it to be a very reasonable Article in your Gospel. Nothing can be juster and more plausible than those Precepts you speak of. You act disingenuously in saying that unless the Commandments are punctually observ'd and practis'd, the giving Faith and Credit to the Gospel will not avail: For, pray, how comes it about that the *French* believe the Gospel, and yet make a jest of its Precepts. This I take to be a manifest Contradiction: [107] For, in the first place, as to the Adoration of the Great Spirit, I see no sign of it in your Actions, so that your Worship consists only in Words, and seems to be Calculated to cheat us. To give you an instance; do not you see every day that your Merchants when they bargain with us for Beaver-Skins, do commonly say, my Goods cost me so much, 'tis true as I Adore the Almighty; I lose so much by you, 'tis as true as that God is in Heaven. But I do not find that they offer him the Sacrifice of their most valuable Goods, as we do after we have bought 'em from them, when we burn 'em before their Faces. In the next place, as for Working on the days set apart for Worship, I do not find that you make any difference between Holy-Days and Work-Days; for I have frequently seen the *French* bargain for Skins on your Holy-Days, as well as make Nets, Game, Quarrel, beat one another, get Drunk, and commit a



hundred extravagant Actions. In a third place, touching the Veneration we have for our Fathers or Ancestours, 'tis but seldom that you follow their Counsel; you suffer 'em to die for Hunger, you leave 'em and take up separate Habitations; you are always ready to ask something of 'em, but never to give 'em any thing; and if you expect any thing from 'em, you wish for their death; or at least you expect it with impatience. In the fourth place, as for Continence with respect to the tender Sex; who is it among you (abating for the Jesuits) that has ever acted up to it; do not we see every day that your Youths pursue our Daughters and our Wives, even to the very Fields, with a design to inveigle 'em by presents? Do not they Roll every Night from Hutt to Hutt in our Village, in order to debauch 'em? And dost not thee know how many such Adventures [108] there are among thy own Soldiers? In the fifth place, to touch upon the head of Murder; 'tis such a common thing among you, that upon the least accident, you clap your Hands to your Swords and Butcher one another. I remember when I was at *Paris*, People were run thro' in the Streets every night; and upon the Road between *Paris* and *Rochel*, I was told that I was in danger of my life. Sixthly. Lying and Slandering your Brethren, is a thing that you can as little refrain as Eating and Drinking. I never heard four *French-Men* converse together, without speaking ill of some body; and if you knew what I have heard 'em say publicly of the Viceroy, the Intendant, the Jesuits, and of a thousand People that you know, not excepting your Self, you would be convinc'd that the *French* are very well

vers'd in Defamations. And as to the bufiness of Lying, I affirm it for a truth, that there is not one Merchant in this Country that will not tell you twenty Lies in felling the worth of a Beaver's Skin in Goods; not to mention the lies they invent in order to defame their Neighbours. In a seventh place, to adjust the Point of ingaging with Married Women, we need no other Proof than to hear your Discourses when you have got a little Drink in your Heads; then you'll entertain us with a great many fine Stories of your Adventures that way. But to go no farther, pray reckon up how many Children are got upon the Wives of the *Coueurs de Bois* during their Husbands absence. In the eighth place, to come to the Article of not encroaching upon our Neighbours Property, how many Thefts or Robberies have you seen committed among the *Coueurs de Bois* since you came to this Country? Have not the Thieves been taken in the Fact, and punish'd accordingly? Is not it such a common [109] thing in your Towns, that one can't walk in the Streets in the Night time with safety, and that you dare not leave your Doors open? In the ninth place, as for going to your Mafs to hear some Words spoke in an unknown Language; 'tis true the *French* go commonly to it, but their design in going is to think of other things than Praying. At *Quebec*, the Men go to Mafs to pick up the Women, and the Women take the same Method to make Assignments with the Men. I have seen some of your Women call for Cushions, for fear of spoiling their Stockins and Petti-coats; then they sit down upon their Heels, and pull a Book out of a great Bag, which they open

and hold in their hands, tho' at the same time, they look more at the Men they like, than at the Prayers contain'd in the Book. Most of your *French* People take Snuff when they're at Mass; they talk, and laugh; and sing rather for Diversion than out of Devotion. And, which is yet worse; I know that during the time of Mass, several Women and Girls take the opportunity of pursuing their Amours, by staying at home all alone. As for your Fasts, I must say they are very comical: You eat of all sorts of Fish till you burst again, you cram down Eggs and a thousand other things, and yet you call this fasting. In fine, my dear Brother, you *French* Folks do all of you make large Pretensions to Faith, and yet you are downright Infidels; you would fain pass for wise People, and at the same time you are fools; you take your selves to be Men of Sense, but at the bottom Ignorance and Presumption is your true Character.

*Labontan.* This conclusion, my dear Brother, favours too strong of the *Hurons*, in being apply'd to all the *French* in general. If your representation were just, ne're a one of 'em would go to [110] Paradise. But we know that there are Millions of 'em in the State of the Blessed, whom we call Saints, and whose Images you see in our Churches. I own that there are but few of the *French* who have that true Faith that's the only Principle of Piety; several make a Profession of believing the Truths of our Religion, but this belief is wanting as to its due strength and liveliness. I own that the greatest part of those who know the Divine Truths, and make a Profession of believing them, do act quite contrary to what

Faith and Religion injoyns. I cannot deny the justness of your Charge, in alleging a Contradiction upon 'em. But you must consider, that sometimes Men sin against the light of their own Conscience, and some Men lead wicked Lives that have receiv'd good Instruction. Now this may be owing either to their want of Attention, or to the force of their Passions, and the ties they lye under to their Temporal Interest. Man being full of Corruption is sway'd to evil by so many various motives, and by so strong an inclination that way, that 'tis hard for him to renounce it, without an absolute Necessity.

*Adario.* When you speak of *Man*, you ought to say *French-Man*; for you know that the Passions, the Interest, and the Corruption we speak of, are not known among us: But that is not the Point I would be at. Do ye hear, my Brother, I have talk'd frequently to the *French* of all the Vices that reign among them; and when I have made it out that they have no regard to the *Laws* of their *Religion*, they confess'd that 'twas true, and that they saw it plainly and knew it to be so; but at the same time they said 'twas impossible for them to observe those Laws: Upon that I ask'd 'em if they did not believe then that their Souls would be doom'd to eternal Flames; and receiv'd this answer, [III] *That the Mercy of God is so great, that whoever trusts in his Goodness shall be Sav'd; that the Gospel is a Covenant of Grace, in which God condescends to the Condition and Weakness of Man, who is tempted by so many violent and frequent Attractives, that he is forc'd to give way; and that this World being a place of Corruption, there can be no Purity in Corrupt Man, unless it be in the Country where*

*God resides.* This, I think, is a less rigid sort of Morality than that of the Jesuits, who send us to Hell for a Trifle. Your *French* Men have reason to say, *That 'tis impossible to keep that Law*; so long as the distinction of *Meum* and *Tuum* is kept up among you: You need no other proof for this than the Example of all the Savages of *Canada*, who notwithstanding their Poverty are Richer than you, among whom all sorts of Crimes are committed upon the score of that *Meum* and *Tuum*.

*Labontan.* I own, my dear Brother, that thou'rt in the right of it; and I can't but admire the Innocence of all the Savage Nations: And 'tis for that reason that I earnestly wish they were acquainted with the Sanctity of our Scriptures, I mean, that Gospel that thou and I have talk'd so much of. There's nothing wanting but that to render their Souls Eternally Happy. All of you live so Morally that you will then have but one Difficulty to surmount before you arrive at Paradise; I mean, that Customary Fornication that prevails amongst the single persons of both Sexes, and the liberty that the Men and the Women take in breaking their Marriage Bonds, in order to a Reciprocal Change, and a fresh Choice. For the Great Spirit has said, *That Death and Adultery are the only two things that can break that indissoluble Bond.*

[112] *Adario.* We shall take another Opportunity of Discouraging more particularly of that great Obstacle that thou findest to stand in the way of our Salvation. In the mean time, I'll content my self with giving thee one Reason with respect to one of the two Points that are mention'd, that is, the

liberty that Batchelors and Girls take with one another. In the first place the young Warrior will not Embarque in a Married State till he has made some Campaigns against the *Iroquese*, and took some Slaves to serve him either in the Village, or at Hunting, Fishing, &c. and till he is perfectly well vers'd in the Exercises of Hunting, Shooting and Fishing. Farther, he will not enervate himself by the frequent Exercise of Venery, at a time when his Strength enables him to serve his Nation in opposing their Enemies; not to mention that he will not expose a Wife and Children to the affliction of seeing him kill'd or taken Prisoner. Now, considering that 'tis impossible for a young Man to abstain from the Embraces of Women altogether, you must not Censure the Youths for keeping Company with young Women once or twice a Month, nor the Girls for receiving their Addresses. Without that Liberty our Batchelors would be liable to great Disorders, as Experience has taught me, with reference to several that observ'd a severe Continence to make 'em run the better; and besides, our Daughters and young Women would be thereby tempted to a mean submission to the Embraces of Slaves.

*Labontan.* Believe me, my dear Friend, God will not be satisfied with these Reasons; he orders you either to Marry, or to entertain no Commerce with the Sex: For everlasting Flames are entail'd upon one amorous thought alone, upon [113] one longing wish, one bare desire to satisfy the brutish Passion. When thou fastens upon Continence a Character of Impossibility, thou givest God the lie, for he enjoyns nothing but what is possible. 'Tis in our Power to moderate our

Passions when we will ; there's nothing requir'd towards that but our Good-will and Consent. All Men that believe in God ought to observe his Precepts, and to resist Temptations by the assistance of his Grace which never fails 'em. To instance in the Jesuits, Dost not thee think that when they see a pretty Girle in thy Village, they feel the Influence of Temptation as well as other Folks? Questionless they do ; but they call in God to their Assistance ; they pass the whole course of their Lives, as well as all our Priests, without Marrying, or having any criminal Conversation with the tender Sex. When they put on the black Habit they make solemn Promises to God to that Effect. They wage an uninterrupted War with all Temptations, during the whole course of their Lives, and are oblig'd to reach the Kingdom of Heaven by Violence. When one therefore is apprehensive of falling into that Sin, he can't avoid it better than by throwing himself into a Cloyster.

*Adario.* I would not for ten Beaver Skins lye under an obligation of silence upon this Head. In the first place, that set of Men are guilty of a Crime in taking an Oath of Continence, for God having created an equal number of Men and Women, he mean'd that both the one and the other should be employ'd in the Propagation of Mankind. All things in Nature multiply, whether Trees, Plants, Birds, Beasts, or Insects. They repeat this Lesson to us every Year, and such Persons as do not follow it are useles to the World, they do good to none but themselves, [114] and rob the Earth of the Corn that feeds 'em, in regard that they convert it to no use, according to your Principles. A second Crime that they are

guilty of confifts in violating their Oath (which they do but too commonly) and making a Jeft of their Word and Promifes to the Great Spirit. This Crime draws on one or two more, whether in Converfing with young Women or with other Men's Wives. If they keep Company with Girles, 'tis manifelt that by Deflowring 'em they rob 'em of what they can never return; I mean, they rob 'em of that Flower, which the *French* have fuch an itch to gather themfelves when they Marry, and which they look upon as fo valuable a Treafure, that a Robbery of that Nature is reckon'd a Crime of the higheft demerit. Another Crime they are guilty of confifts in ufing the abominable precaution of doing things by halves to prevent Impregnation. If they court the Embraces of Married Women, they ftand accountable for the Adultery, and for the Injury that the Woman does to her Husband. Farther; the Children fpringing from thofe Adulterous Embraces are Robbers and Interlopers, that live upon the Means of a pretended Father and half Brethren. In a fifth place, they are chargeable with the unlawful and prophane Methods that they take to ftifle their Brutifh Paffion; for they being the Perfons that Preach your Gofpel, they give a quite different turn to things in private to what they do publickly, or elfe they could never find a Salvo for their Libertinifm which the Vulgar take for a Crime. Thou art fenfible, my Friend, that I fpeak juftly upon the Point, and that in *France* I have feen fome of thefe Black Priests that would not hide their Talent under their Caps when they came into the Company of Women. [115] Give me leave, my dear Brother, to



tell thee once more that 'tis impossible for these Men to be without the Conversation of Women at a certain Age, and far less to be free from amorous Thoughts. As for that Resistance and those vigorous Efforts thou speak'st of, that's but a frivolous and poor Plea, as well as their idle pretence of avoiding the Temptation by being mew'd up in a Convent. If Convents are Antidotes against Temptation, why do you suffer the young Priests and Monks to Confess Maids and Married Women? Is that the way to avoid the Temptation; or is it not rather a plain contrivance for a handsome Opportunity? What Man in the World can hear the Amorous Intrigues of the confessing Ladies, without being Transported, especially if he be one of those who enjoy Health, Youth and Strength, who live without Fatigue or Working, and who encourage Nature with the most Nourishing Liquors and Food, season'd with I do not know how many Drugs and Spices, that are sufficient to inflame the Blood without any other Provocation? For my part, after a due Consideration of these Articles, I shall not think it strange if there be not so much as one Ecclesiastick in the Paradise of the Great Spirit. And pray, how have you the Confidence to maintain that this Cattel turn Monks and Priests in order to avoid Sin, when you know they are addicted to all manner of Vice? I have been inform'd by *French* Men of very good Sense, that those who enter into Priests or Monks Orders among you, have no other view than to live at their ease, without the fatigue of Work, and without the disquieting fears of dying for Hunger or being oblig'd to venture their Lives in the

Army. If you would have your Priests good Men, they ought [116] to be all Married, and to live with their respective Families; or else they should be all above Sixty Years of Age. Then indeed they might Confess, Preach and visit Families without Scruple, and Edifie all the World by their Example. Then, I say, 'twould not be in their Power to seduce Maids or married Women; their Age and their Conduct would speak them Wise, Moderate and Confiderate; and at the same time the Nation would sustain no loss by their being set apart for Divine Service, in regard that after Sixty Years of Age they are not fit for Warlike Exploits.

*Labontan.* I told you before, that you ought not to charge the whole World with the Misdemeanours of a few. 'Tis true there are some who take upon 'em Monks or Priests Orders, with no other design than to subsist handsomely; and unmindful of the devoirs of their Ministry, think of nothing but calling in their yearly Rents. I own that some of 'em are Drunkards, and extravagant in their Actions and Words; that among some of 'em who are wedded to their Interest, Sordid Avarice bears the Ascendant; that some are Proud and Implacable in the way of Repentment; that some of 'em are Whore-masters, Debauchees, Swearers, Hypocrites, Ignorant Fellows, Worldly minded, Backbiters, &c. But their number is but very inconsiderable with respect to the whole; for the Church receives none but the wiser and graver sort of Men, of whom they have some moral Assurances, and whom they try and endeavour to know thoroughly before they admit 'em: Tho' after all their precaution it can't be otherwise but

that they muſt be impos'd upon ſometimes; and indeed this is a great Misfortune, for when the Conduct of Eccleſiaſticks is blacken'd with ſuch [117] Vices, it raiſes the greateſt Scandal that can be; the Sacred Word is polluted in their Mouths, the Laws of God are contemn'd, Divine Things are diſreſpected, the Office of the Miniſtry is debas'd, Religion in general is trampled under Foot, and the People ſhaking off the due regard to Religion give way to an uncontroll'd Licentiouſneſs. But in the mean time you ought to conſider, that in ſuch Caſes we take our Meaſures from their Doctrines more than from the Example of ſuch ſcandalous Eccleſiaſticks; we are not upon the ſame lay with you who have not the neceſſary Diſcretion to diſtinguiſh the Doctrine from the Example, and to remain unſhaken by the Scandalous Lives of thoſe you ſaw at *Paris*, whoſe Converſation and Sermons were far from being of a piece. In fine, all that I have to ſay upon this Head, turns upon this, that the Pope having given expreſs Orders to our Biſhops not to confer the Eccleſiaſtical Dignity upon any unworthy Object, they take all the Precaution imaginable, and at the ſame time uſe their utmoſt Efforts to reclaim thoſe who have already gone aſtray.

*Adario.* I am ſurpris'd to find that you give all along ſuch ſuperficial Anſwers to all the Objections I have offer'd. I perceive that you court Digreſſions, and always depart from the Subject of my Queſtions. But ſince 'tis ſo, I'll come to the Pope then; and with reference to that Point, you muſt know that one Day at *New York* an *English*-man gave me to know that the Pope was ſuch another Man as he or I was;

but that he sent every body to Hell that he Excommunicated; that he releas'd whom he pleas'd from a second place of Torment, that it seems you have forgot, and open'd the Gates of the Great Spirit's Country to such Persons as he lik'd, as being [118] intrusted with the Keys of that upper Region. If all this be true, methinks all his Friends should kill themselves when he expires, that they may croud in along with him when he opens the Gates for himself; and if it be in his Power to send Souls to Hell, 'tis a dangerous thing to be rank'd in the number of his Enemies. At the same time, I was inform'd by that *English* Gentleman, that this Papal Authority had no footing in *England*, and that the *English* ridicul'd it. Now, prithee, tell me whether this *English* Christian spoke the truth, or not.

*Labontan.* The unfolding of this question would run me out to so wide a compass of things, that I should not have done, not in fifteen days. The Jesuits will satisfy you upon that point better than I can pretend to. However I'll take the liberty to say one thing, namely: That the *English* Man rally'd and jeer'd while he mention'd some things that were true. He had a great deal of reason to persuade you that those of his Religion, did not depend upon the Pope for their Passage to Heaven, because that lively Faith which you and I spoke of before, conducts 'em thither without any regard to that holy Man. The Son of God is willing to save all the *English* by his Blood and Merits. And thus you see that they are happier than the *French*, of whom God has requir'd good Works that they scarce ever mind, and who are doom'd to

everlasting Flames, if their evil Actions run counter to the above mention'd Commandments of God; tho' at the same time, both they and we are of the same Faith. As to the second flaming place, which we call *Purgatory*, they are exempted from the necessity of passing thro' it; because they'd rather choose to continue upon Earth thro' all the Ages of Eternity without visiting Paradise, than to Burn [119] for some thousands of years by the way. They are so tender upon this point of Honour, that they'll never accept of any Present at the purchase of bearing some Bastinadoes. According to their Notions of things, they do not take a man to be oblig'd by the giving him Money and hard Usage at the same time: This is rather an affront in their way. But the *French*, who are less nice upon the point; they take it for a mighty favour, that they're allowed to burn for an infinity of Ages in *Purgatory*, upon the apprehension that by that means, they will be better acquainted with the true value of Heaven. Now for as much as the Pope is the Creditor of the *English*, and demands Restitution of his own, they are far from asking his Pardons; that is, his Passports for removing to Heaven without touching at *Purgatory*; for if they did, he would order 'em a Pass to that sort of Hell, which they pretend was never made for 'em. But we *French* Folks that pay him good round Annuities, being acquainted with his Wonder-Working Power, and affected with a sense of our Sins against God; we, I say, that lye under such Circumstances, must of necessity have recourse to the Indulgences of that holy Man, in order to obtain a Pardon that he has Power to grant; for if one of us

be Condemn'd to lye forty years in *Purgatory* before he is remov'd to Heaven, why, 'twill cost the Pope but one Word to get the Sentence Revers'd. In fine, to repeat once more what I said before, the Jesuits will inform you admirably well, of the Authority and Power of the Pope, and of the State of *Purgatory*.

*Adario*. I am at a loss to know how to form a distinct Idea of the difference between you and the *English*, as to the point of Belief; for the more I endeavour to have it set in a clearer light, [120] the less light I find. To my mind, the best way for all of you is to agree upon this conclusion; That the Great Spirit has bestow'd upon all Men, a Light sufficient to shew 'em what they ought to do, without running the risque of being impos'd upon: For I have heard that in each of these different Religions, there's an infinite number of Persons of different Opinions. To instance in your Religion; every religious Order maintains certain Points that the rest do not, and observes as great a diversity in their Institutions as in their Habits. This makes me think that in *Europe* every particular Man forms a peculiar Religion to himself, which differs from that which he outwardly professes. As for my own part, I firmly believe that Men are not capable of knowing what the Great Spirit requires of 'em; and I can't dissuade my self from believing, that since the Great Spirit is so just and so good, 'tis impossible that his Justice should render the Salvation of Mankind so difficult, as that all of 'em should be Damn'd that are not retainers to your Religion, and that even few of the Professors of it should be admitted into Paradise. Believe me,

my Friend; the other World goes upon a lay that's quite different from what we have in this. Few People know what passes there: All *our* knowledge amounts only to this; That we *Hurons* are not the Authours of our own Creation, that the Great Spirit has vouchsaf'd us an honest Mould, while Wickedness nestles in yours; and that he sends you into our Country, in order to have an opportunity of Correcting your Faults, and following our Example. Pursuant to this Principle, my Brother, thou may'st believe as long as thou wilt, and have as much Faith as thou hast a mind to: But after all, thou shalt never see the good Country of Souls, unless thou [121] turn'st *Huron*. The Innocence of our Lives, the Love we tender to our Brethren, and the Tranquility of Mind which we enjoy in contemning the measures of Interest: These, I say, are three things that the Great Spirit requires of all Men in General. We practise all these Duties in our Villages, naturally; while the *Europeans* defame, kill, rob, and pull one another to pieces, in their Towns. The *Europeans* have a strong mind to Inherit a Place in the Country of Souls, and yet they never think of their Creator, but when they dispute with the *Hurons*. Fare well, my dear Brother; it grows late: I'll now retire to my Hutt, in order to recollect all the advances thou hast made, that I may call 'em to mind to morrow, when I come to reason the Point with the Jesuits.

*Of Laws.*

*Labontan.* WELL, my Friend; thou hast heard what the Jesuit had to say; he has set matters in a clear light, and made 'em much plainer than I could do. You see plainly there's a great difference between his Arguments and mine. We Soldiers of Fortune have only a superficial knowledge of our Religion, tho' indeed we ought to know it better; but the Jesuits have Study'd it to that degree, that they never fail of converting and convincing the most obstinate Infidels in the Universe.

*Adario.* To be free with thee, my dear Brother, I could scarce understand one tittle of what he meant, and I am much mistaken if he understands it himself. He has repeated the very [122] same Arguments a hundred times in my Hutt; and you might have observ'd, that yesterday I answer'd above twenty times, that I had heard his Arguments before upon several occasions. But, what I take to be most ridiculous, he teazes me every minute to get me to interpret his Arguments, word for word, to my Countrymen; upon the Plea that a Man of my Sense may find out in his own Language, more significant terms, and render the meaning of his Words more Intelligible, than a Jesuit who is not thoroughly Master of the *Huron* Language. You heard me tell him, that he might Baptise as many Children as he pleas'd, tho' at the



same time he could not give me to know what Baptism was. He may do what he pleases in my Village; let him make Christians, and Preach, and Baptise if he will; I shall not hinder him. But now, methinks, we have had enough of Religion, let us therefore talk a little of what you call Laws; for you know that we have no such Word in our Language; tho' at the same time, I apprehend the force and importance of the Word, by vertue of the explication I had from you t'other day, together with the examples you mention'd, to make me conceive what you meant. Prithee tell me, are not Laws the same as just and reasonable Things? You say they are. Why then, to observe the Law, imports no more than to observe the measures of Reason and Justice: And at this rate you must take just and reasonable things in another sense than we do; or if you take 'em in the same sense, 'tis plain you never observe 'em.

*Labontan.* These are fine Distinctions indeed, you please your self with idle Flams. Hast not thee the Sense to perceive, after twenty Years Conversation with the *French*, that what the *Hurons* [123] call Reason is Reason among the *French*. 'Tis certain that all Men do not observe the Laws of Reason, for if they did there would be no occasion for Punishments, and those Judges thou hast seen at *Paris* and *Quebec* would be oblig'd to look out for another way of Living. But in regard that the good of the Society consists in doing Justice and following these Laws, there's a necessity of punishing the Wicked and rewarding the Good; for without that Precaution Murthers, Robberies and Defamations would spread

every where, and in a Word, we should be the most miserable People upon the Face of the Earth.

*Adario.* Nay, you are miserable enough already, and indeed I can't see how you can be more such. What sort of Men must the *Europeans* be? What Species of Creatures do they retain to? The *Europeans*, who must be forc'd to do Good, and have no other Prompter for the avoiding of Evil than the fear of Punishment. If I ask'd thee, what a Man is, thou wouldst answer me, *He's a Frenchman*, and yet I'll prove that your *Man* is rather a *Beaver*. For *Man* is not intitled to that Character upon the score of his walking upright upon two Legs, or of Reading and Writing, and shewing a Thousand other Instances of his Industry. I call that Creature a *Man*, that hath a natural inclination to do Good, and never entertains the thoughts of doing Evil. You see we have no Judges; and what's the reason of that? Why? We neither quarrel nor sue one another. And what's the reason that we have no Law Suits? Why? Because we are resolved neither to receive nor to know Silver. But why do we refuse admission to Silver among us? The reason is this: We are resolv'd to have no Laws, for since the World [124] was a World our Ancestors liv'd happily without 'em. In fine, as I intimated before, the Word *Laws* does not signify just and reasonable things as you use it, for the Rich make a Jest of 'em, and 'tis only the poor Wretches that pay any regard to 'em. But, pray, let's look into these *Laws*, or reasonable things, as you call 'em. For these Fifty Years, the Governors of *Canada* have still alledg'd that we are subject to the Laws of their great Captain. We

content our selves in denying all manner of Dependance, excepting that upon the Great Spirit, as being born free and joint Brethren, who are all equally Masters: Whereas you are all Slaves to one Man. We do not put in any such Answer to you, as if the *French* depended upon us; and the reason of our silence upon that Head is, that we have no mind to Quarrel. But, pray tell me, what Authority or Right is the pretended Superiority of your great Captain grounded upon? Did we ever sell our selves to that great Captain? Were we ever in *France* to look after you? 'Tis you that came hither to find out us. Who gave you all the Countries that you now inhabit, by what Right do you possess 'em? They always belong'd to the *Algonkins* before. In earnest, my dear Brother, I'm sorry for thee from the bottom of my Soul. Take my advice, and turn *Huron*; for I see plainly a vast difference between thy Condition and mine. I am Master of my own Body, I have the absolute disposal of my self, I do what I please, I am the first and the last of my Nation, I fear no Man, and I depend only upon the Great Spirit: Whereas thy Body, as well as thy Soul, are doom'd to a dependance upon thy great Captain; thy Vice-Roy disposes of thee; thou hast not the liberty of doing what thou hast a mind to; thou'rt afraid of Robbers, [125] false Witneses, Assassins, &c. and thou dependest upon an infinity of Persons whose Places have rais'd 'em above thee. Is it true, or not? Are these things either improbable or invisible? Ah! my dear Brother, thou seest plainly that I am in the right of it; and yet thou choos'est rather to be a *French* Slave than a free *Huron*. What a fine

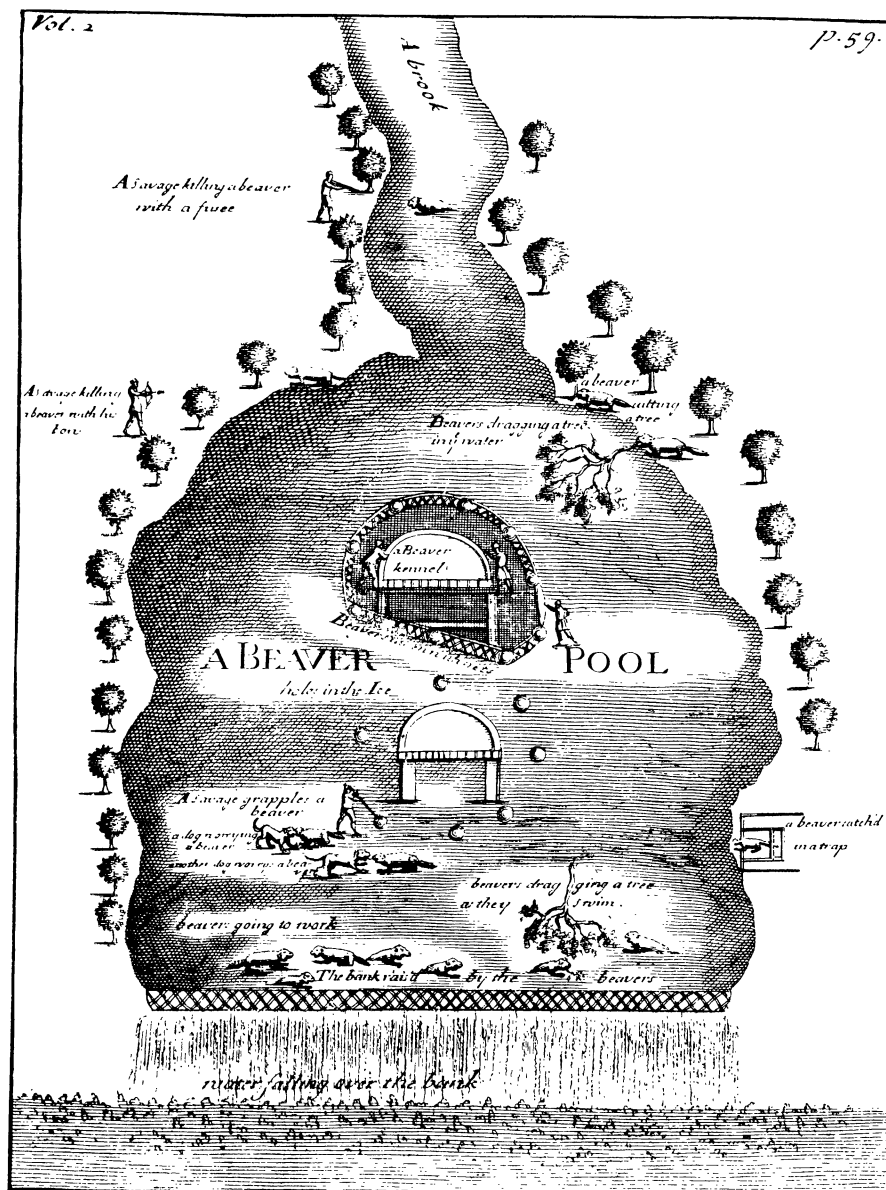
Spark does a *Frenchman* make with his fine Laws, who taking himself to be mighty Wise is assuredly a great Fool; for as much as he continues in Slavery and a state of Dependence, while the very Brutes enjoy that adorable Liberty, and like us fear nothing but Foreign Enemies.

*Labontan*. Indeed, my Friend, thy way of Reasoning is as Savage as thy self. I did not think that a Man of Sense, who hath been in *France* and *New England*, would speak after that Fashion. What benefit hast thou reaped by having seen our Cities, Forts and Palaces? When thou talk'st of severe Laws, of Slavery, and a Thousand other idle Whims, questionless thou preachest contrary to thy own Sentiments. Thou takest pleasure in discanting upon the Felicity of the *Hurons*, a set of Men who mind nothing but Eating, Drinking, Sleeping, Hunting, and Fishing; who have not the enjoyment of any one Conveniency of Life, who travel four Hundred Leagues on Foot to knock four *Iroquese* on the Head, in a Word, who have no more than the shape of Men: Whereas we have our Conveniences, our unbending Diversions, and a Thousand other Pleasures, which render the Minutes of our Life supportable. To avoid the lash of those Laws which are severe only upon wicked and criminal Persons, one needs only to live honestly, and offer Injuries to no man.

[126] *Adario*. Ay, my dear Brother, your being an honest Man would not avail you; if two false Witnesses swear against you, you'll presently see whether your Laws are severe or not. Have not the *Coueurs de Bois* quoted me twenty instances of Persons that have been cruelly put to death by the lash of

your Laws, whose Innocence has appear'd after their death? What truth there is in their Relations, I do not pretend to know; but 'tis plain that such a thing may happen. I have heard 'em say farther (and indeed I had heard the same thing in *France* before) that poor innocent Men are Tortur'd in a most horrible manner, in order to force 'em by the violence of their Torment to a Confession of all that is charg'd upon 'em, and of ten times more. What execrable Tyranny must this be! Tho' the *French* pretend to be Men, yet the Women are not exempted from this horrid Cruelty, no more than the Men; both the one and the other choose rather to die once than to die fifty times. And indeed they are in the right of it: For if it should happen that by the influence of extraordinary courage, they were capable of undergoing such Torments without confessing a Crime that they never committed; what health, what manner of life can they enjoy thereafter? No, no, my dear Brother, the black Devils that the Jesuits talk so much of, are not in the Regions where Souls burn in Flames, but in *Quebec* and in *France*, where they keep Company with the Laws, the false Witnesses, the Conveniencies of Life, the Cities, the Fortresses and the Pleasures you spoke of but now.

*Labontan.* The *Coueurs de Bois* and the other Sparks who told you such Stories, without acquainting you with the other Circumstances that they knew nothing of, are Block-heads that had [127] better have held their peace. I'll set the whole matter before thee, in its clear and natural colours. Suppose, two false Witnesses depose against a Man; they are





presently put into two separate Rooms, where they can't see or converse with one another. Then they are examin'd one after another upon the Articles charg'd against the Person Arraign'd; and the Judges are of such tender Consciences, as to use their utmost efforts to discover whether one or both of 'em vary's, as to the Circumstances. If they happen to perceive any falsity in their depositions, which is easily perceiv'd, they Sentence 'em to die without remission. But if it appears that they are so far from contradicting, that they back one another, they are presented before the Prisoner, to see if he has any Objection to make against 'em, and if he is willing to rely upon their Consciences. If he has nothing to object, and if the two Witnesses Swear by the Great Spirit, that they saw him Murder, Rob, &c. the Judges condemn him out of hand. As for Torture, 'tis never made use of, but when there's only one Witness, whose Oath can't infer Death; for the Law which requires the Testimony of two Men for a sufficient Proof, looks upon the Attestation of one but as half a Proof. But at the same time, you must remark that the Judges take all imaginable Precaution to avoid the passing of an unjust Sentence.

*Adario.* I'm e'en as wise as I was; for when all comes to all, the two false Witnesses have a perfect good understanding between themselves, before they are brought to the Bar, and they are not to seek for the Answers they are to make: And I find the deposition of one Scoundrel will put a Man to the Rack as well as that of an honest Man; who in my Opinion do's justly forfeit [128] the Character of Honesty by such a



deposition, even when he has seen the Crime committed. The *French* are a fine sort of People, who are so far from saving one another's Lives, like Brethren, that they refuse to do it when 'tis in their power. But, prithee, tell me; what dost thou think of these Judges? Is it true that some of 'em are so ignorant as they are said to be; and that others are so Wicked as to pronounce unjust Judgments contrary to their own Consciences; with intent to favour a Friend, or to oblige a Mistress or a great Lord, or to hook in Mony. I foresee thou'lt reply that the Allegation is false, and that Laws are just and reasonable things. But at the same time, I know 'tis as true as that we are here; for a Man that demands his Estate of another who is unjustly possess'd of it, and makes the Innocence of his Cause to appear as clear as the Sunshine; that very Man, I say, shall never make any thing of his Suit; if the great Lord, the Mistress, the Friend, and the Mony business, speak on the Adversary's behalf, to the Judges who are empower'd to decide the Cause. The same is the case of persons Arraign'd for Crimes. Ha! Long live the *Hurons*; who without Laws, without Prisons, and without Torture, pass their Life in a State of Sweetness and Tranquility, and enjoy a pitch of Felicity to which the *French* are utter Strangers. We live quietly under the Laws of Instinct and innocent Conduct, which wise Nature has imprinted upon our Minds from our Cradles. We are all of one Mind; our Wills, Opinions and Sentiments observe an exact Conformity; and thus we spend our Lives with such a perfect good understanding, that no Disputes or Suits can take place amongst us.

But how unhappy are you in being expos'd to the lash of Laws, which your ignorant, [129] unjust, and vicious Judges break in their private Actions, as well as in the Administration of their Offices? These are your just and equitable Judges; who have no regard to Right; who make their Interest the Standard of their Conduct, in the way of their Office; who have nothing in view but the Inriching of themselves; who are not accessible by any but the Dæmon of Silver; who never administer Justice, but thro' a Principle of Avarice or Passion; who give Countenance to Crimes, and set aside Justice and Honesty, in order to give a full range to Cheating, Quarrelling, and the carrying on of tedious Law Suits, to the abuse and violation of Oaths, and to an infinity of other Disorders. This is the practice of these doughty Assertors of the fine Laws of the *French Nation*.

*Labontan.* I gave you to know before, that you ought not to give credit to all that every Fool whispers in your Ear. You give Ear to some Blockheads that have not a tincture of Common Sense, and that spread lies under the notion of truths. These bad Judges, that they speak of, are as uncommon as white Beavers; for 'tis a question if there are four such in all *France*. Our Judges are men that love Vertue, and have Souls to be fav'd as well as thee and I; being invested with a publick Capacity, they are to answer for their Conduct before a Judge that has no respect to Persons, and before whom the greatest Monarch is no more than the meanest Slave. There's scarce any of these Men, who would not choose to die, rather than wound their Conscience or violate the Laws. Money is

too base a Metal to tempt 'em, and Women warm 'em no more than the Ice. Friends and great Lords make less Impression upon their Minds, than the Waves upon the Rocks. They curb Libertinism, [130] they redress Disorders, and do Justice to all that Sue for it; without the least regard to what we call Interest. As for my own part, I have lost my whole Estate by being cast in three or four Law-Suits at *Paris*; but I would be loth to believe that the Judges are in fault, notwithstanding that my Adversaries found both Money and Friends to back bad Causes. 'Twas the Law that gave it against me, and I take the Law to be just and reasonable, imputing my surprize upon the matter, to my unacquaintedness with that Study.

*Adario.* I protest I don't understand one word of what thou hast said; for I know the contrary of what thou sayest to be true, and those who inform'd me so of the Judges are Men of undisputed Honour and Sense. But if no body had given me any such Information, I am not so dull Pated as not to see with my own Eyes, the Injustice of your Laws and your Judges. I'll tell thee one thing my dear Brother; I was a going one day from *Paris* to *Versailles*, and about half way, I met a Boor that was going to be Whipt for having taken Partridges and Hares with Traps. Between *Rochel* and *Paris*, I saw another that was Condemn'd to the Gally's for having a little Bag of Salt about him. These poor Men were punish'd by your unjust Laws, for endeavouring to get Sustenance to their Families; at a time when a Million of Women were got with Child in the absence of their Husbands, when the Physi-

cians Murder'd three fourths of the People, and the Gamesters reduc'd their Families to a Starving Condition, by losing all they had in the World ; and all this with Impunity. If things go at this rate, where are your just and reasonable Laws ; where are those Judges that have a Soul to be Sav'd as well as you and I ? After this, [131] you'll be ready to Brand the *Hurons* for Beasts. In earnest, we should have a fine time of it if we offer'd to punish one of our Brethren for killing a Hare or a Partridge ; and a glorious fight 'twould be, to see our Wives enlarge the number of our Children, while we are engag'd in Warlike Expeditions against our Enemies ; to see Physicians Poison our Families, and Gamesters lose the Beaver Skins they've got in Hunting. In *France*, these things are look'd upon as trifles, which do not fall within the Verge of their fine Laws. Doubtless, they must needs be very blind, that are acquainted with us, and yet do not imitate our Example.

*Labontan*. Very fine, my dear Friend ; thou goest too fast ; believe me, thy Knowledge is so confin'd, as I said before, that thy Mind can't reach beyond the appearances of things. Wouldst thou but give Ear to Reason, thou wouldst presently be sensible that we act upon good Principles, for the support of the Society. You must know, the Laws Condemn all without exception, that are guilty of the Actions you've mention'd. In the first place, they prohibit the Peasants to kill Hares or Partridges, especially in the Neighbourhood of *Paris* ; by reason that an uncontroul'd liberty of Hunting, would quickly exhaust the whole Stock of those Animals. The Boors Farm the Grounds of their Landlords, who reserve to themselves

the Priviledge of Hunting, as being Masters. Now, if they happen to kill Hares or Partridges, they not only rob their Masters of their Right, but fall under the Prohibition enacted by the Law: And the same is the Case of those who run Salt, by reason that the Right of Transporting it is solely lodg'd in the King. As to the Women and the Gamesters that you took notice of; you can't think sure that [132] we'd shut 'em up in Prisons and Convents, and Condemn 'em to a perpetual Confinement. The Physicians 'twould be unjust to abuse, for of a hundred Patients they do not kill two; nay, on the contrary, they use their utmost efforts to Cure 'em. There's a necessity that Superannuated Persons, and those who are worn out, should put a Period to their Lives. And after all, tho' all of us have occasion to imploy Doctors, if 'twere prov'd that they had kill'd any Patient, either thro' Ignorance or Malice, the Law would not spare 'em no more than others.

*Adario.* Were these Laws observ'd, you would stand in need of a great many Prisons; but I see plainly that you do not speak all the truth, and that you're afraid of carrying the Thing farther, lest my Reasons should put you to a stand. However, let's now cast our eyes upon those two Men who fled last year to *Quebec*, to avoid the being Burnt in *France*. If we look narrowly into their Crime, we'll find occasion to say, that *Europe* is pester'd with a great many foolish Laws.<sup>1</sup> But, to

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<sup>1</sup> Sorcery was at this period a statutory crime in France, liable to be punished with death by burning. There was a considerable revival of the fear of witchcraft under Louis XIV, the last law passed upon the subject being the edict of 1682. As late as 1731, a Jesuit was condemned by the parlement of Provence to be burned for sorcery.—ED.

ſpeak to the purpoſe ; theſe two *French* Men were Branded for Jugglers, pretended Magicians, and charg'd with the Crime of playing Magical Tricks. Now, what harm have theſe poor Fellows done ; perhaps they have had a fit of Sickneſs, that has brought 'em into that State of Simplicity and Folly, as it happens ſometimes among us. Prithee tell me, what harm do our Jugglers do ? When a Patient is recommended to 'em, they ſhut themſelves up all alone in a little Hutt, where they Sing, Roar, and Dance, and utter ſome extravagant Expreſſions ; then they give the Patient's Relations to know, that they muſt prepare a Feaſt for Solacing the Patient ; and this Feaſt conſiſts of Fleſh or Fiſh, according to the Humour of this Juggler, who is only an imaginary [133] Phyſician, whoſe Head has been turn'd by ſome hot Feaver or other. You ſee we rally upon 'em in their abſence, and ſee thro' the Impoſture ; you are ſenſible that they are as fooliſh in their Actions as in their Words, and that they never go upon Hunting or Warlike Expeditions : And why would you Burn the poor Wretches, that in your Country fall under the ſame Miſfortune ?

*Labontan.* There's a great deal of difference between our Jugglers and yours : Thoſe of that Profeſſion among us, have interviews with the evil Spirit, and feaſt with him every Night ; by vertue of their Witchcraft, they hinder a Man from Imbracing his own Wife ; by putting a certain Charm into the Viſtuals or Drink of Vertuous and Wiſe Ladies, they draw 'em to Debauchery ; they Poyſon the Cattel, they blaſt the Product of the Earth, they cauſe Men to die in a languish-

ing Condition, and a Big-Belly'd Woman to Miscarry: In fine, they do an infinity of mischievous Actions, which I have not nam'd. This set of Men calls themselves Inchanters and Sorcerers; but there's another sort that is yet worse, namely, the Magicians, who converse in a familiar way with the evil Spirit, and get him to appear in what Figure they please, to those who have the curiosity to see him. They have secret Charms that will procure good Luck at Gaming, and Enrich those upon whom they are bestow'd; they foretel Futurities, and have the Power to transform themselves into all sorts of Animals, and the most frightful Figures; they run about to certain Houses, where they make a fearful Howling, interlac'd with Cries and dismal Moans, and appear to be as tall as the loftyest Trees, with Chains on their Feet, and Serpents in their Hands: In fine, they do so terrify [134] the People, that they are forc'd to have recourse to the Priests, for their Exorcisms; upon the apprehension that these Apparitions are Souls come from *Purgatory* to this World, to beg some Masses which are necessary for their Translation into the Presence of the Almighty. Now, take all these Articles together, you will not think it strange, that we Burn 'em without Mercy, pursuant to the Tenor of our Laws.

*Adario.* Is it possible, that you believe such idle Stories? Sure, you only rally to see what I would answer. These Stories seem to be of a piece with those I have Read in the

\* Books of speaking Animals. Some of our *Coureurs de Bois* Read these idle Fictions every day; and I'm much mistaken if what you now speak of, is not Writ-

\* *Æsop's Fables.*

ten in these Books: For, one must be a Fool that believes that the evil Spirit is invested with the Power of coming upon the Earth; supposing it to be true that he is such as the Jesuits represent him. No Creature can subsist out of its own Element: Fish die when forc'd upon the Land, and Man expires when under Water. How can you imagine then that the Devil can live out of his Element, which is Fire? Besides, If he could come upon the Earth, he would do mischief enough by himself, without employing these Sorcerers; and if he convers'd with one Man, he would be ready to converse with many others; for considering that in your Country the wicked out-number the good, every one of you would then turn Sorcerer, and so all would go to Destruction together; the World would be turn'd upside down; and in a word, a remedyless Disorder would ensue. Dost not thee know, my Brother, that to credit such idle Whims, is an affront offer'd to the Great Spirit; in regard that it charges him with Authorising [135] Mischief, and being the direct Authour of all the abovemention'd Disorders, by suffering the Evil Spirit to turn out of Hell? Since the Great Spirit is so good, as you and I are sensible he is, 'tis more credible that he would send good Souls with agreeable Shapes, to check men for their unwarrantable Actions, and to invite 'em in an amicable way to the practice of Vertue, by setting forth the Felicity and Bliss of those Souls that are possess'd of the good Country. As for the Souls that lye in *Purgatory* (if so be that there's any such place) I take it, the Great Spirit has no occasion to be intreated and pray'd to on their behalf, by those who have



enough to do to pray for themselves: Besides, since he gives 'em leave to come to the Earth, he might as well allow them to mount up to Heaven. Upon the whole, my dear Brother, if I thought you spoke seriously of these things, I should truly be apprehensive that you are Delirious, or have lost your Senses. Certainly, there must be some more inflaming Article against these two Jugglers, or else both your Laws and your Judges are equally unreasonable. If 'twere true that these mischievous Actions were actually committed, the Consequence I should draw from thence, would be this; That since there's no such thing heard of among any of the Nations of *Canada*, it can't be otherwise but that the Evil Spirit has a power over you that he has not over us. Upon this lay, we are a good People, and you on the other hand are perverse, malicious, and addicted to all degrees of Vice and Wickedness. But, prithee, let's make an end of our Conferences upon this Head; and so I'll expect no answer to what has been said. To come back to your Laws, pray inform me how it comes to pass that they suffer Women to be Sold for Money to those who have [136] a mind to make use of 'em? Why do they suffer those publick Houses where the Whores and Bawds are in readiness all the hours of the day, to oblige all sorts of Persons? Why are some allow'd to wear Swords, in order to kill others that dare not wear 'em? Why do not they prohibit the Selling of Wine above a determin'd quantity, or the adulterating of it with I do not know how many Ingredients, that ruin one's Health? Do not you see the Disorders committed at *Quebec* by Drunkards? You'll answer

perhaps, as others have done before you; that the Vintner is allow'd to Sell as much Goods as he can put off, for the maintenance of himself and his Family; and that he who drinks the Wine ought to regulate his own Conduct; and be moderate in that as well as in all other things. But I'll prove that to be impossible, for a Man in drink, loses his Reason before he is aware, or at least his Reason is so drown'd that he is not capable of distinguishing what he ought to do. Why do not your Laws restrain the excessive Gaming, that is the source of a thousand evils? Fathers ruin their Families (as I said before) Children either Rob their Fathers, or run 'em into Debt; the Wives and Daughters prostitute themselves for Money, when they're reduc'd to extremities, and have plaid away their Cloaths, and their Household Furniture. This gives rise to disputes, murders, enmity, and irreconcilable hatred. These prohibitions, my Brother, would be of no use among the *Hurons*; but they are very much wanted among the *French*. If by such methods you would gradually reform the Disorders that Interest has rais'd amongst you, I should hope that one day you might come to live without Laws as we do.

[137] *Labontan*. I acquainted you before, that our Laws inflict Penalties on Gamesters; and provide Punishments for Whores and Bawds, and above all, for Publick House-Keepers, when disorders happen in their Houses. All the difference lies here, that our Cities are so large and populous that 'tis not easy for the Judges to trace all the Abuses that are committed: But at the same time, they are prohibited by the

Laws, and all possible measures are us'd to prevent 'em: In one word, our Judges endeavour with such care and application to stifle bad Customs, to establish a good Order in all the Branches of the Society, to punish Vice and reward Vertue; this, I say, they do with such care and application, that if you could but shake off your faulty Prejudices, and weigh narrowly the excellency of our Laws, you would be oblig'd to own that the *French* are a just, judicious and knowing People, who pursue the true measures of Justice and Reason more than you do.

*Adario.* I would gladly embrace any opportunity of working my self into that Belief before I die, for I have a natural affection for the *French*; but I am very apprehensive that I shall not meet with that Consolation. Upon this foot, your Judges ought to begin first to observe the Laws, that their example may influence others; they ought to discontinue their Oppression of Widows, Orphans, and poor Creatures; to give dispatch to the Suits of Persons that come an hundred Leagues off for a Hearing; and in a word, to form such Judgments of Causes as the Great Spirit shall do. I can never entertain a good thought of your Laws, till they lessen the Taxes and Duties that poor People are constrain'd to pay, at a time when the Rich of all Stations pay nothing in proportion to their Estates; till [138] you put a stop to the course of Drunkenness that spreads thro' our Villages, by prohibiting the *Coueurs de Bois* to import Brandy among us. Then indeed I shall hope that you'll compleat your Reformation by degrees, that a levelling of Estates may gradually creep in among you; and that at last you'll abhor that thing call'd Interest, which occa-

fions all the Mischief that *Europe* groans under. When you arrive at that pitch, you'll have neither *Meum* nor *Tuum* to disturb you, but live as happily as the *Hurons*. This is enough for one day : I see my Slave coming to acquaint me that I am wanted in the Village. Farewel, my dear Brother, till to morrow.

*Labontan*. I am of the Opinion, my dear Friend, that you would not have come so soon to my Apartment, if you had not design'd to pursue our last Dispute. As for my part, I declare I will not enter the lists farther with you, upon the consideration that you are not capable to apprehend my Arguments. You are so prepossess'd on the behalf of your own Nation, so strongly bias'd to the Savage Customs, and so little fond of a due enquiry into ours ; that I shall not daign to kill both my Body and my Soul, in endeavouring to make you sensible of the ignorance and misery that the *Hurons* have always liv'd in. Thou knowest I am thy Friend ; and so I have no other view, but to set before thine eyes the Felicity that attends the *French*, to the end that thou and the rest of thy Nation may live as they do. I told you, I do not know how often, that you insist on the Conversation of some *French* Debauchees, and measure all the rest by their Bushel. I acquainted you, that they were punish'd for their Crimes ; but these reasons will not go down with you ; you obstinately [139] maintain your assertion by throwing in affrontive answers, as if the *French* were not Men. Upon the whole, I am downright weary of hearing such poor stuff come from the Mouth of a Man that all the *French* look upon as a Man of excellent

Senſe. The People of thy Nation reſpect thee not only for thy Senſe and Spirit, but for thy Experience and Valour. Thou art the Head of the Warriours, and the Preſident of the Council; and without flattery, I have ſcarce met with a Man of a quicker apprehenſion than thy ſelf. 'Tis upon this conſideration, that I pity thee with all my heart for not throwing off thy prejudicate Opinions.

*Adario.* Thou'rt miſtaken, my dear Brother, in all thou haſt ſaid; for I have not form'd to my ſelf any falſe Idea of your Religion, or of your Laws. The Example of all the *French* in General, will ever oblige me to look upon all their Actions as unworthy of a Man. So that my Idea's are juſt; the prepoſſeſſion you talk of is well grounded; and I am ready to make out all my advances. We talk'd of Religion and Laws, and I did not impart to you above a quarter of what I had to ſay upon that Head. You inſiſt chiefly upon our way of living, which you take to be Blame-worthy. The *French* in general take us for Beaſts; the Jeſuits Brand us for impious, fooliſh and ignorant Vagabonds. And to be even with you, we have the ſame thoughts of you; but with this difference, that *we* pity you without offering inveſtives. Pray hear me, my dear Brother, I ſpeak calmly and without paſſion. The more I reflect upon the lives of the *Europeans*, the leſs Wiſdom and Happineſs I find among 'em. Theſe fix years I have bent my thoughts upon the State of the *Europeans*: But I can't light on any thing in their Actions that is not [140] beneath a Man; and truly I think 'tis impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, ſo long as you ſtick to the meaſures of *Meum* and *Tuum*.

I affirm that what you call Silver is the Devil of Devils; the Tyrant of the *French*; the Source of all Evil; the Bane of Souls, and the Slaughter-House of living Persons. To pretend to live in the Money Country, and at the same time to save one's Soul, is as great an inconsistency as for a Man to go to the bottom of a Lake to preserve his Life. This Money is the Father of Luxury, Lasciviousness, Intrigues, Tricks, Lying, Treachery, Falseness, and in a word, of all the mischief in the World. The Father sells his Children, Husbands expose their Wives to Sale, Wives betray their Husbands, Brethren kill one another, Friends are false, and all this proceeds from Money. Consider this, and then tell me if we are not in the right of it, in refusing to finger, or so much as to look upon that cursed Metal.

*Labontan.* What! is it possible that you should always Reason so forrily! Prithee, do but listen once in thy life time to what I am going to say. Dost not thou see, my dear Friend, that the Nations of *Europe* could not live without Gold and Silver, or some such precious thing. Without that Symbol, the Gentlemen, the Priests, the Merchants, and an infinity of other Persons who have not Strength enough to labour the Earth, would die for Hunger. Upon that lay, our Kings would be no Kings: Nay, what Soldiers should we then have? Who would then Work for Kings or any body else, who would run the hazard of the Sea, who would make Arms unless 'twere for himself? Believe me, this would run us to remediless Ruine, 'twould turn *Europe* into a Chaos, and create the most dismal Confusion that Imagination it self can reach.

[141] *Adario*. You fobb me off very prettily, truly, when you bring in your Gentlemen, your Merchants and your Priests. If you were Strangers to *Meum* and *Tuum*, those distinctions of Men would be funk; a levelling equality would then take place among you as it now do's among the *Hurons*. For the first thirty years indeed, after the banishing of Interest, you would see a strange Desolation; those who are only qualify'd to eat, drink, sleep and divert themselves, would languish and die; but their Posterity would be fit for our way of living. I have set forth again and again, the qualities that make a Man inwardly such as he ought to be; particularly, Wisdom, Reason, Equity, &c. which are courted by the *Hurons*. I have made it appear that the Notion of separate Interests knocks all these Qualities in the Head, and that a Man sway'd by Interest can't be a Man of Reason. As for the outward Qualifications of a Man; he ought to be expert in Marching, Hunting, Fishing, Waging War, Ranging the Forests, Building Hutts and Canows, Firing of Guns, Shooting of Arrows, Working Canows: He ought to be Indefatigable, and able to live on short Commons upon occasion. In a word, he ought to know how to go about all the Exercises of the *Hurons*. Now in my way, 'tis the Person thus qualify'd that I call a *Man*. Do but consider, how many Millions there are in *Europe*, who, if they were left thirty Leagues off in the Forrests, and provided with Fuses and Arrows, would be equally at a loss, either to Hunt and maintain themselves, or to find their way out: And yet you see we traverse a hundred Leagues of Forrests without losing our way, that we kill Fowl and other Beasts with our Arrows,

that we catch Fish in all the places where they are to be had ; that we [142] Dog both Men and Wild Beasts by their Foot-steps, whether in Woods or in open Fields, in Summer or in Winter ; that we live upon Roots when we lye before the Gates of the *Iroquese*, that we run like Hares, that we know how to use both the Axe and the Knife, and to make a great many useful things. Now since we are capable of such things, what should hinder you to do the same, when Interest is laid aside ? Are not your Bodies as large, strong and brawny as ours ? Are not your Artisans imploy'd in harder and more difficult Work than ours ? If you liv'd after our manner, all of you would be equally Masters ; your Riches would be of the same Stamp with ours, and consist in the purchasing of Glory by military Actions, and the taking of Slaves ; for the more you took of them the less occasion you would have to Work : In a word, you would live as happily as we do.

*Labontan.* Do you place a happy Life, in being oblig'd to lye under a pittance of Bark, to Sleep under four sorry Coverlets of Beaver Skins, to Eat nothing but what you Boil and Roast, to be Cloath'd with Skins, to go a Beaver Hunting in the hardest Season of the Year, to run a hundred Leagues on Foot in pursuit of the *Iroquese*, thro' Marshes and thick Woods, the Trees of which are cut down so as to render 'em inaccessible ! Do you think your selves happy when you venture out in little Canows, and run the risque of being drown'd every foot in your Voyages upon the Great Lakes ; when you lye upon the ground with the Heavens for your Canopy, upon approaching to the Villages of your Enemies ; when



you run with full Speed, both days and nights without eating or drinking, as being purfued by your Enemies; when you are fure of being reduc'd to the laft extremity, if [143] the *Coueurs de Bois* did not out of Friendfhip, Charity and Com-miferation, fupply you with Fire-Arms, Powder, Lead, Thread for Nets, Axes, Knives, Needles, Awls, Fifhing-Hooks, Ket-tles, and feveral other Commodities?

*Adario.* Very fine, come, don't let's go fo faft; the day is long, and we may talk one after the other at our own leifure. It feems you take all thefe things to be great hardfhips; and indeed I own they would be fuch to the *French*, who like Beafts, love only to eat and to drink, and have been brought up to Softnefs and Effeminacy. Prithee, tell me what difference there is between lying in a good Hutt, and lying in a Palace; between Sleeping under a Cover of Beaver-Skins, and Sleeping under a Quilt between two Sheets; between Eating Boil'd and Roaft Meat, and feeding upon dirty Pies, Ragou's, &c. drefs'd by your greafy Scullions? Are we liable to more Diforders and Sickneffes than the *French*, who are accommodated with thefe Palaces, Beds and Cooks? But after all, how many are there in *France* that lye upon Straw in Garrets where the Rain comes in on all hands, and that are hard put to't to find Vi&ctuals and Drink? I have been in *France*, and fpeak from what I have feen with my Eyes. You rally without reafon, upon our Cloaths made of Skins, for they are warmer, and keep out the Rain better than your Cloth; befides, they are not fo ridiculously made as your Garments,

which have more Stuff in their Pockets and Skirts, than in the Body of the Garment. As for our Beaver-Hunting, you take it to be a terrible thing; while it affords us all manner of pleasure and diversion; and at the same time, procures us all sorts of Commodities in exchange for the Skins. Besides, our Slaves take all the Drudgery off our hands, (if so be [144] that you will have it to be drudgery.) You know very well that Hunting is the most agreeable Diversion we have; but the Beaver-Hunting being so very pleasant, we prefer it to all the other sorts. You say, we have a troublesome and tedious way of waging War; and indeed I must own that a *French* Man would not be able to bear it, upon the account that you are not accusom'd to such long Voyages on Foot; but these Excursions do not fatigue us in the least, and 'twere to be wish'd for the good of *Canada*, that you were possess'd of the same Talent; for if you were, the *Iroquese* would not Cut your Throats in the midst of your own Habitations, as they do now every day. You insist likewise on the risk we run in our little Canows, as an instance of our Misery; and with reference to that Point, 'tis true that sometimes we cannot dispense with the use of Canows, because we are Strangers to the Art of Building larger Vessels; but after all, your great Vessels are liable to be cast away as well as our Canows. 'Tis likewise true, that we lye flat upon the open ground when we approach to the Villages of our Enemies; but 'tis equally true that the Soldiers in *France* are not so well accommodated as your Men are here, and that they are oftentimes forc'd to

lye in Marſhes and Ditches, where they are expos'd to the Rain and Wind. You object farther, that we betake our ſelves to a ſpeedy Flight ; and pray what can be more natural than to flye when the number of our Enemies is triple to ours. The Fatigue indeed of running night and day without Eating and Drinking, is terrible ; but we had better undergo it than become Slaves. I am apt to believe that ſuch extremities are matter of Horrour to the *Europeans*, but we look upon 'em as in a manner, nothing. [145] You conclude, in pretending that the *French* prevent our Miſery by taking pity of us. But pray conſider how our Anceſtors liv'd an hundred years ago : They liv'd as well without your Commodities as we do with 'em ; for inſtead of your Fire-Locks, Powder and Shot, they made uſe of Bows and Arrows, as we do to this day : They made Nets of the Thread of the Barks of Trees, Axes of Stone ; Knives, Needles and Awls of Stag or Elk-Bones ; and ſupply'd the room of Kettles with Earthen Pots. Now, ſince our Anceſtors liv'd without theſe Commodities for ſo many Ages ; I am of the Opinion, we could diſpenſe with 'em eaſyer than the *French* could with our Beaver Skins ; for which, by a mighty piece of Friendſhip, they give us in exchange Fufeſes, that burſt and Lane many of our Warriors, Axes that break in the cutting of a Shrub, Knives that turn Blunt, and loſe their Edge in the cutting of a Citron ; Thread which is half Rotten, and ſo very bad that our Nets are worn out as ſoon as they are made ; and Kettles ſo thin and ſlight, that the very weight of Water makes the Bottoms fall out. This,

my dear Brother, is the answer I had to give to your Reflexions upon the Misery of the *Hurons*.<sup>1</sup>

*Labontan.* 'Tis well; I find you would have me to believe that the *Hurons* are insensible of their Fatigue and Labour; and being bred up to Poverty and Hardships, have another notion of 'em than we have. This may do with those who have never stir'd out of their own Country, and consequently have no Idea of a better Life than their own; who having never visited our Cities and Towns, fancy that we live just as they do. But as for thee, who hast seen *France*, *Quebec* and *New-England*, methinks thy judgment and relish of things are too much of the Savage [146] Strain; whilst thou prefers the Condition of the *Hurons* to that of the *Europeans*. Can there be a more agreeable and delightful Life in the World, than that of an infinity of rich Men, who want for nothing? They have fine Coaches, Stately Houses adorn'd with Rich Hangings and Magnificent Pictures, Sweet Gardens replenish'd with all sorts of Fruit, Parks Stock'd with all sorts of Animals, Horses and Hounds and good store of Money, which enables 'em to keep a Sumptuous Table, to frequent the Play-Houses, to Game freely, and to dispose handsomely of their Children. These happy Men are ador'd by their Dependants; and you

<sup>1</sup> As the result of contact with Europeans, there was soon noticeable a great change in Indian customs and mode of living. The introduction from Europe of iron implements, fire-arms, utensils, clothing, and ornaments, profoundly affected our aborigines, and rendered them thenceforth dependent upon traders for the very means of subsistence. Lahontan has here put into the mouth of Adario an illuminating although satirical reference to the process by which the American Indians were quickly converted by the fur-traders from a self-reliant people into a dependent class.—ED.

have seen with your own eyes our Princes, Dukes, Marshals of *France*, Prelates, and a Million of persons of all Stations, who want for nothing, and live like Kings, and who never call to mind that they have liv'd, till such time as Death alarms 'em.

*Adario.* If I had not been particularly inform'd of the State of *France*, and let into the knowledge of all the Circumstances of that People, by my Voyage to *Paris*; I might have been Blinded by the outward appearances of Felicity that you set forth: But I know that your Prince, your Duke, your Marshal, and your Prelate are far from being happy upon the Comparifon with the *Hurons*, who know no other happiness than that of Liberty and Tranquility of Mind: For your great Lords hate one another in their Hearts; they forfeit their Sleep, and neglect even Eating and Drinking, in making their Court to the King, and undermining their Enemies; they offer such Violence to Nature in dissembling, disguising and bearing things, that the Torture of their Soul leaves all Expression far behind it. Is all this nothing in your way? Do you think it such a trifling matter to have fifty [147] Serpents in your Bosom? Had not they better throw their Coaches, their Palaces and their Finery, into the River, than to spend their life time in a continued Series of Martyrdom? Were I in their place, I'd rather choose to be a *Huron* with a Naked Body and a Serene Mind. The Body is the Apartment in which the Soul is lodg'd; and what signifies it, for the Case call'd the Body, to be set off with Gold Trappings, or spread out in a Coach, or planted before a Sumptuous Table,

while the Soul Galls and Tortures it ?) The great Lords, that you call Happy, lie expos'd to Disgrace from the King, to the detraction of a thousand sorts of Persons, to the loss of their Places, to the Contempt of their Fellow Courtiers; and in a word, their soft Life is thwarted by Ambition, Pride, Presumption and Envy. They are Slaves to their Passions, and to their King, who is the only *French* Man that can be call'd Happy, with respect to that adorable Liberty which he alone enjoys. There's a thousand of us in one Village, and you see that we love one another like Brethren; that whatever any one has is at his Neighbour's Service; that our Generals and Presidents of the Council have not more Power than any other *Huron*; that Detraction and Quarreling were never heard of among us; and in fine, that every one is his own Master, and do's what he pleases, without being accountable to another, or censur'd by his Neighbour. This, my dear Brother, is the difference between us and your Princes, Dukes, &c. And if those great Men are so Unhappy, by consequence, those of inferiour Stations must have a greater share of Trouble and perplexing Cares.

[148] *Labontan*. You must know that as your *Hurons* who are brought up in the way of Fatigue and Misery, have no mind to be rid of it; so these great Lords being inur'd from their infancy to ambition, care, &c. can't live without it. As Happiness lies in the imagination, so they feed themselves with Vanity, and in their hearts think themselves as good as the King. That Tranquility of mind that the *Hurons* enjoy,

never car'd for crossing over to *France*, for fear of being confin'd to the little Religious Houses. Tranquility of mind passes in *France* for the Character of a Fool, of a senseless, careless Fellow. To be happy, one must always have somewhat in his view that feeds his Wishes. He that confines his Wishes to what he enjoys, must be a *Huron*, which none will desire to be, if he considers that Life would be a Scene of Uneasiness, if our Mind did not direct us every minute to desire somewhat that we are not yet possess'd of; and 'tis this that makes a Life happy, provided the means employ'd in the prosecution of such Wishes are lawful and warrantable.

*Adario*. Is not that Burying a Man alive; to rack his Mind without intermission in the acquisition of Riches and Honour, which cloy us as soon as obtain'd; to infeeble and waste his Body, and to expose his Life in the forming of Enterprises, that for the most part prove Abortive? As for your Allegation, that these great Lords are bred from their Infancy to Ambition and Care, as we are to Labour and Fatigue; I must say, 'tis a fine Comparifon for a Man that can Read and Write. Tell me, prithee, if the repose of the Mind and the exercise of the Body are not the necessary Instruments of Health, if the tossing of the Mind and the rest of the Body are not the means to destroy it? What have we [149] in the World that's dearer to us than our Lives, and ought not we to take the best measures to preserve 'em? The *French* murder their Health by a thousand different means, and we preserve ours till our Bodies are worn out, our Souls

being so far free from Passions, that they can't alter or disturb our Bodies. And after all, you insinuate that the *French* hasten the Moment of their Death by lawful means: A very pretty conclusion indeed, and such as deserves to be took notice of. Believe me, my dear Brother, 'tis thy Interest to turn *Huron*, in order to prolong thy life. Thou shalt drink, eat, sleep, and Hunt with all the ease that can be; thou shalt be free'd from the Passions that Tyrannise over the *French*; thou shalt have no occasion for Gold or Silver to make thee happy; thou shalt not fear Robbers, Assassins or False Witneses; and if thou hast a mind to be King of all the World, why, thou shalt have nothing to do but to think that thou art so.

*Labontan.* You cannot expect I should comply with your demand, without thinking that I have been guilty of such Crimes in *France*, that I can't return without running the risque of being Burnt: For after all, I can't imagine a more unaccountable *Metamorphosis*, than that of a *French* Man into a *Huron*. How d'ye think I could undergo the Fatigues we talk'd of but now? D'ye think I could have the patience to hear the Childish Proposals of your Ancient and your Young Men, without taking them up? Is it feasible that I could live upon Broth, Bread, *Indian* Corn, Roast Meat and Boil'd, without either Pepper or Salt? Could I brook the Larding of my Face like a Fool, with twenty sorts of Colours? What Spirit must I be of, if I drink nothing but Mapple-Water, and go stark Naked all the Summer, [150] and eat out of nothing but Wooden Dishes? Your Meals would never go



down with me, since two or three hundred Persons must Dance for two or three hours before and after. I can't live with an uncivilis'd sort of People, who know no other Compliment than, *I honour you*. No, no; my dear *Adario*, 'tis impossible for a *French-Man* to turn *Huron*, but a *Huron* may easily become a *French-Man*.

*Adario*. At that rate you prefer Slavery to Liberty. But 'tis no Surprisal to me, after what I have heard you maintain: Tho after all, if you happen'd to enter into your own Breast, and to throw off your prepossession with regard to the Customs and Humours of the *French Nation*; I cannot see that the Objections you've now Started, are of such Moment as to keep you from falling into our way of living. What a mighty difficulty you meet with in bringing your self to approve of our old Men's Counsel, and our young Men's Projects! Are not you equally gravell'd, when the Jesuits and your Superiours make impertinent demands? Why would not you choose to live upon the Broth of all sorts of good and substantial Meat? Our Partridges, Turkeys, Hares, Ducks, and Roe-Bucks; do not they eat well when they're Roasted or Boil'd? What signifies your Pepper, your Salt, and a thousand other Spices, unless it be to murder your Health? Try our way of living but one fort-night, and then you'll long for no such doings. What harm can you fear from the Painting of your Face with Colours? You dawb your Hair with Powder and Essence, and even your Cloaths are sprinkled with the same: Nay, I have seen *French Men* that had Mustaches like Cats, cover'd

o'er with Wax. As for the Mapple-Water, 'tis sweet, healthy, well-tasted, and friendly to the Stomach : [151] And I've seen you drink of it oftner than once or twice : Whereas Wine and Brandy destroy the natural Heat, pall the Stomach, inflame the Blood, Intoxicate, and create a thousand Disorders. And pray what harm would it do ye, to go Naked in warm Weather? Besides, we are not so stark Naked, but that we are cover'd behind and before. 'Tis better to go Naked, than to toil under an everlasting Sweat, and under a load of Cloaths heap'd up one above another. Where's the uneasyness of Eating, Singing, and Dancing in good Company? Had not you better do so than sit at Table moping by your self, or in the Company of those that you never saw or knew before? All the hardship then, that you can complain of, lies in conversing with an unciviliz'd People, and being robb'd of the Pageantry of Compliments. ' This you take to be a sad Affliction, tho' at the bottom 'tis far from being such. Tell me, prithee; do's not Civility consist in Decency and an affable Carriage? And what is Decency? Is it not an everlasting Rack, and a tiresome Affectation display'd in Words, Cloaths and Countenance? And why would you Court a Quality that gives you so much trouble? As for Affability; I presume it lyes in giving People to know our readiness to serve 'em, by Caresses and other outward Marks; As when you say every turn, Sir, *I'm your humble Servant, you may dispose of me as you please.* Now, let's but consider to what purpose all these Words are spoke; for what end must we lie upon all occasions, and speak other-

wife than we think? Had not you better speak after this fashion; *Ho! art thou there, thou'rt welcome, for I honour thee?* Is not it an ugly show, to bend one's Body half a score times, to lower one's hand to the ground, and to say every moment, *I ask your Pardon?* Be [152] it known to thee, my dear Brother, that this Submission alone would be enough to unhinge me quite, as to your way of living. You've asserted that a *Huron* may easily turn *French*; but believe me, he'll meet with other difficulties in the way of his Conversion than those you speak of. For supposing I were to turn *French* out of hand, I must begin with a compliance to Christianity, which is a Point that you and I talk'd enough of three days ago. In order to the same end, I must get my self Shav'd every three days, for in all appearance I should no sooner profess Gallicism, than I should become rough and hairy like a Beast: And this inconvenience shocks me extreamly: Sure 'tis much better to be Beardless and Hairless; and I'm equally sure you never saw a rough Savage. How d'ye think it would agree with me to spend two hours in Dressing or Shifting my self, to put on a Blue Sute and Red Stockins, with a Black Hat and a White Feather, besides colour'd Ribbands? Such Rigging would make me look upon my self as a Fool. How could I condescend to Sing in the Streets, to Dance before a Looking-Glass, to toss my Wigg sometimes before and sometimes behind me? I could not stoop so as to make my Honours, and fall down before a parcel of Sawcy Fools, that are intitled to no other Merit than that of their Birth and Fortune: D'ye think that I could see the Indigent languish and pine away, without giving

'em all I had? How could I wear a Sword without attacking a Company of Profligate Men who throw into the Gallys an infinity of poor Strangers, (\*) that never injur'd any Body, and are carried, in a woful Condition, out of their Native Country, to Curfe in the [153] midft of their Chains, their Fathers and Mothers, their Birth, and even the Great Spirit. Thus 'tis that the *Iroquefe* languish, who were sent to *France* fome two years ago.<sup>1</sup> Can you imagine that I would fpeak ill of my Friends, carefs my Enemies, contemn the Miferable, honour the Wicked, and enter into Dealings with 'em; that I would triumph o'er my Neighbour's Misfortunes, and praife a naughty Man; that I would act the part of the Envious, the Traitours, the Flatterers, the Inconstant, the Liars, the Proud, the Avaricious, the Selfish, the Taletellers, and all your double Minded Folks? D'ye think it poffible for me to be fo indiscreet as to boaft at once of what I have done, and what I have not done; to be fo mean as to crawl like an Adder at the feet of a Lord, that orders his Servants to deny him; and to take a Refufal tamely? No, my dear Brother, no; I can't brook the Character of a *French* Man; I had rather continue what I am than pafs my Life in thefe Chains. Is it poffible that our Liberty do's not Charm you? Can you live an eafier life than what you may have in our way? When thou comest to vifit me in my Hutt, do not my Wife and my Daughters withdraw and leave thee alone with me, that

\* *The Algerines, Tripolins, Moors, Turks, &c. who are taken in the Mediterranean, and are sent to Marfeilles to the Galleys.*

<sup>1</sup> For this incident, and its effect upon the colony, see pp. 122-124, *ante*.—ED.

our Conversation may suffer no Interruption? In like manner, when thou mean'st to pay a Visit to my Wife or my Daughters, are not thou left alone with the party that thou comest to See? Are not you welcome to Command any Hutt in the Village, and to call for any thing of Eatables that you like best? Did ever a *Huron* refuse another, either the whole or part of what he had catch'd at Hunting or Fishing? Do not we make dividends of our Beaver-Skins, in order to supply those who have not enough to purchase such Commodities as they have occasion for? [154] Do not we observe the same Method in the distribution of our Corn, to such as have not sufficient Crops upon their Fields for the maintenance of their Families? If any one of us have a mind to Build a Canow or a Hutt, we all send our Slaves to forward the Work, without being ask'd. This is a quite different way of living from that of the *Europeans*, who would Sue their nearest Relations for an Ox or a Horse. If the *European* Father asks Mony of his Son, or the Son of the Father, he replies he has none. If of two *French* Men who have liv'd twenty years together, and eat and drink at one Table every day; if of these two *French* Men, I say, one should ask the other for Mony, the answer is, there's none to be had. If a poor Wretch that goes naked in the Streets, and is ready to dye with Hunger and Hardships: does but ask a rich Man for a Farthing, his answer is, '*Tis not for him*. Now since all this is true, how can you have the presumption to claim a free access to the Country of the Great Spirit? Sure, there's not a Man upon Earth that does not know, that Evil is contrary to Nature, and that he was not

Created to do Mischief. What hopes then can a Christian have at his Death, that never did a good Action in his Life time. He either must believe that the Soul dies with the Body (tho' there's none of you that owns that Opinion) or else supposing the Immortality of the Soul, and supposing your Tenents of Hell, and of the Sins that waft Sinners to that Region, to be just and true, your Souls will have a hot time of it.

*Labontan.* D'ye hear, *Adario*? I find 'tis needless for us to Reason longer upon these Heads; for all the Arguments you offer have nothing of Solidity in 'em. I have told thee a hundred times, that the instance of a handful of wicked [155] Men concludes nothing upon the whole: You fancy that every *European* has his particular Vice, whether known or unknown; and I may preach the contrary to you till to Morrow Morning and not Convince you when I have done. You make no difference between a Scoundrel and a Man of Honour; and so I may talk to you ten Years together and not unhinge you of the bad opinion you have of our Religion, our Laws, and our Customs. I would give a hundred Beaver Skins that you could Read and Write like a *Frenchman*. Had you that Qualification, you would not so shamefully condemn the happy Condition of the *Europeans*. We have had in *France* some *Chinese* and *Siamese* who came from the remotest parts of the World, and were in every respect more averse to our Customs than the *Hurons*, and yet could not but admire our way of Living. For my part, I protest I can't conceive the ground of your Obstinacy.

*Adario*, All these People have as crooked Minds as they have deform'd Bodies. I have seen some of the Ambassadors from the Nations you speak of, and the Jesuits at *Paris* gave me some account of their Country. They observe a division of Property as well as the *French*; and forasmuch as they are more brutish and more wedded to their Interest than the *French*, we must not think it strange that they approv'd of the Customs and Manners of a People who treated 'em with all the measures of Friendship, and made 'em Presents. You must not think that the *Hurons* will take their Measures from them. You ought not to take Exceptions at any thing that I have prov'd; for I do not despise the *Europeans*, tho' indeed I can't but pity 'em. You say well in alledging that I place no difference between a Rogue and what you call a Man of [156] Honour. My Apprehension indeed is flat enough; but for a long time I have Convers'd with the *French* on purpose to know what they mean by their Man of Honour. To be sure the Word can't be apply'd to a *Huron*, who is a Stranger to Silver, since a moneyless Man is no Man of Honour in your way. 'Twere an easie matter to make my Slave a Man of Honour, by carrying him to *Paris*, and furnishing him with a hundred Packs of Beaver Skins, to answer the charge of a Coach and ten or twelve Footmen. As soon as he appears in an Embroider'd Suit with such a Retinue, he'll be Saluted by every one, and Introduc'd to the greatest Treats, and the highest Company: And if he does but regale the Gentlemen, and make Presents to the Ladies, he passes in course for a Man of Sense and Merit: He'll be call'd the







King of the *Hurons*, and every one will give out, that his Country is full of Gold Mines, that himself is the most Puissant Prince in *America*, that he is a Man of Sense and talks most agreeably in Company; that he is redoubted by all his Neighbours; in fine, he'll be such a Man of Honour as most of your *French* Footmen come to be after they have made shift, by infamous and detestable means, to pick up as much Money as will fetch that pompous Equipage. Ha! my dear Brother, if I could but read, I could find out a great many fine things that now I do not know. You should not then get off for hearing me mention the few Disorders that I observ'd among the *Europeans*; for I would then muster you up a great many more, whether in Wholesale or Retail. I do not believe that there's any one Vocation or Rank of Men that would not be found liable to just Censure, if examin'd by one that can Read and Write. And in my Opinion [157] 'twere better for the *French* that they were Strangers to Reading and Writing: Every Day gives us fresh Instances of an infinity of Disputes among the *Coueurs de Bois* upon the account of *Writings*, which tend to nothing but Litigiousness and Law Suits. One bit of Paper is enough to ruin a whole Family. With a slip of a Letter a Woman betrays her Husband, and concerts ways to have her turn serv'd; a Mother sells her Daughter, and a Forger of Writings cheats whom he pleases. In your Books which are publish'd every Day, you write Lies and impertinent Stories; and yet you would fain have me to Read and Write like the *French*. No, my dear Brother, I had rather live without Knowledge, than

to Read and Write such things as the *Hurons* abhor. We can do all our Buſineſs with reference to our Hunting and our Military Adventures, by the help of our Hieroglyphicks. You know very well that the Characters which we draw upon the peel'd Trees in our Paſſages, comprehend all the Particulars of a Hunting or Warlike Expedition, and that all who ſee theſe Marks know what they ſignifie.<sup>1</sup> Now, pray, what occaſion have we for more? The Communion of Goods among the *Hurons* ſuperſedes the uſe of Writing. We have no Poſts nor no Horſes in our Forreſts for Couriers to ride upon to *Quebec*. We make Peace and War without Writing, and employ only Ambaſſadors that carry the Faith and Promise of the Nation. Our Boundaries are adjusted without Writing: And as for the Sciences that you ſtudy, they would be of no uſe to us; for, to inſtance in *Geography*, we have no mind to puzzle our Brains in the reading of Books of Voyages that contradict one another; and are not in the humour to abdicate our Country, which you know we are [158] ſo minutely acquainted with, that the leaſt Brook does not ſcape our Calculation. *Aſtronomy* would be equally uſeleſs; for we reckon the Years by the Moons, and ſo many Winters ſtand for an equal number of Years. *Navigation* would be yet leſs ſerviceable, for we have no Ships: And *Fortification* can bring us no Advantage, in regard that a Fort of ſingle Paliffadoes is to us a ſufficient guard from the Arrows and the Surprizes of our Enemies, who are Strangers to Artillery. In a Word, confid-

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 512-515, *ante*.—ED.

ering our way of living, Writing can do us no good. All that I value in the whole Circle of your Sciences, is *Aritbmetick*: I can't but own that that Science pleases me infinitely well, tho' at the same time I am sensible that those who are vers'd in it are not free from great Errors. There is no Trade or Profession among the *French* that I like, excepting that which runs in the way of *Commerce*; that indeed I look upon as a Lawful Calling, and that which is most necessary for our Welfare. The Merchants are welcome to us; sometimes they bring us good Commodities, and some of 'em being Men of Justice and Probity are satisfied with a moderate Gain: They run great hazards, they advance beforehand, they lend, they stay for their due; in fine, I know many Dealers that have a just and reasonable Soul, and have oblig'd our Nation very much. But at the same time there are others who act with no other view than to make an exorbitant Profit upon Goods that have a good shew and are worth but little, particularly Axes, Kettles, Powder, Guns, &c. which we are not qualified to know. This makes it to appear, that in all the Ranks and Degrees of the *Europeans* there's something that ought to be disliked. This is a certain truth, that if a Merchant has not an upright Heart, and a [159] sufficient stock of Vertue to withstand the various Temptations to which his Business lays him open, he violates every foot the measures of Justice, Equity, Charity, Sincerity, and true Faith. Are not they chargeable with flaming Wickedness, when they give us sorry Commodities in exchange for our Beaver Skins, which a blind

Man may deal in without being cheated? I have done, my dear Brother, I must now return to the Village, where I'll stay for you to Morrow after Dinner.

*Labontan.* I am come, *Adario*, to thy Apartment, to pay my Respects to thy Grandfather, who I hear lies very ill. 'Tis to be fear'd that the good old Gentleman may be long afflicted with the uneasiness he now complains of; one would think that a Man of his Age, who reckons upon Seventy Years, might refrain the shooting of Turtle-Doves. I've observ'd for a long time, that your old Folks are always in Motion and Action, which is the ready way to exhaust speedily the little Strength that's left 'em. I'll tell thee, *Adario*, thou must send one of thy Slaves for my Surgeon, who understands Physick well enough; for I'm morally assur'd that he'll give him ease in a Minute: This Feaver is so inconsiderable that it can't reach his Life, unless it reaches to a greater height.

*Adario.* Thou knowest very well, my dear Brother, that I have been a mortal Enemy to your Physicians, ever since I saw ten or twelve Persons die in their Hands, through the tyranny of their Remedies. My Grandfather that you take to be Seventy Years old is full Ninety eight. He Marry'd at Thirty Years of Age; my Father was Marry'd at Thirty two, and I am now Thirty five Years old. 'Tis true he is of a [160] strong Constitution, and that this Age could not be attain'd in *Europe*, where People die earlier. One of these Days I'll shew you fourteen or fifteen old Men that are turn'd of a Hundred, nay one of 'em a Hundred and twenty four. I

knew another that dy'd six Years ago at the Age of a Hundred and forty.<sup>1</sup> As for the restless Life that you find fault with in our old Men, I can assure you on the contrary, that if they lay loytering upon their Mats in the Huts, and did nothing but Eat, Drink and Sleep, they would become heavy and dull and unfit for Action; and for as much as their continuall rest would hinder the insensible Transpiration, the Humours then recoyling would rejoin the Blood, and thus by a natural effect their Limbs and Kidneys would be so infeebl'd and wasted, that a mortal Phthifick would ensue. This is an Observation of long standing, that proves true in all the Nations of *Canada*. The Jugglers are to be here presently to try their Skill, and to find out what Meat or Fish is requisite for the cure of this Distemper. My Slaves are now ready to go either a Hunting or Fishing, and if you'll tarry an Hour or two with me, you shall see the apish tricks of these Mountebanks, whom we know to be such when we are well, and yet fend for 'em with great impatience when any dangerous Distemper seizes us.

*Labontan*. You must consider, my dear *Adario*, that in such cases our Mind is sick as well as the Body. We in *Europe* do the same thing by our Physicians. When a Man enjoys his Health he hates and avoids the Physicians; but when he apprehends himself out of order, notwithstanding that he knows the uncertainty of their Art, he calls a Consultation of a Dozen: Some who have no other Illness than what Fancy suggests, [161] do melt down their Bodies by such Remedies

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of Indian longevity, see p. 431, note 2, *ante*.—ED.

as would kill a Horse. I own, indeed, that you have no such Fools among you; but to make the Parallel even, you take no care of your Health; for you run at the Hunting stark naked from Morning to Night; you dance three or four Hours an end till you sweat again, and the playing at the Ball in a Company of six or seven Hundred Persons on a side, to tofs it half a League one way or t'other, is an infinite Fatigue to your Bodies; it infebles the Parts, disperses the Spirits, lowers the mass of Blood and Humours, and breaks the union of their Principles. At this rate a Man that might otherwise have liv'd a Hundred Years is sweep'd off at Eighty.

*Adario.* Supposing all you say to be true, what signifies it for a Man to live so long, since Life is a sort of Death after that Age? Perhaps your Reasons may bear as to the *French*, the generality of whom being lazy and slothful, have an aversion to all manner of violent Exercises. They are of the same temper with our superannuated Persons, that live in such a stupid insensible way; that they never stir out of their Huts but when they take Fire. Our Temperaments and Complexions are as widely different from yours as Night from Day: And that remarkable difference that I observe between the *Europeans* and the People of *Canada*, upon all things in general, is to me an Argument that we are not descended of your pretended *Adam*. Among us you shan't hear in an Age, of one that is Hunch-back'd, or Lamé, or Dwarfish, or Deaf, or Dumb, or Blind from their Infancy, and far less any that is One-ey'd; for when a one-ey'd Creature comes into the World among us, we look upon it as a Prefage of the ensuing

Calamity [162] of the Nation, and have frequently experienc'd the truth of the Prophecy. A one-ey'd Creature is equally destitute of Sense and of an upright Heart; he is Malicious, Goatish and Slothful to the last degree; he is more cowardly than a Hare, and never goes a Hunting for fear of running his one Eye against the Branch of a Tree. As for our Diseases, we know no such thing as your *Dropsies*, *Asthmas*, *Palsy's*, *Gout* and *Pox*. The *Leprosy*, the *Lethargy*, *External Swellings*, the *Suppression of Urine*, the *Stone* and the *Gravel*, are Distempers that we are not acquainted with; to the great Astonishment of the *French*, who are so liable to 'em. *Fevers* indeed reign among us, especially upon our return from any Warlike Expedition, and proceed from our lying in the open Air, our crossing of Marshes, wading over Rivers, our fasting two or three Days at a time, eating cold Victuals, &c. Sometimes *Pleurisies* prove mortal to us, when we heat our selves with running, whether in Military or Hunting Adventures, and then drink such Water as we are unacquainted with: And *Colicks* attack us now and then upon the same occasion. We are subject to the *Meazles* and the *Small Pox*, and that we owe to one of two Reasons. Either we eat so much Fish, that the Blood it produces is of a different temper from that proceeding from Meat, and thereupon boils in the Vessels with greater Violence, and throws out its thick and coarse Particles upon the insensible Pores of the Skin. Or else the bad Air pen'd up in our Villages for want of Windows to our Huts, makes so much Fire and Smoak, that the disproportion between the Particles of the confin'd Air and those of our Blood and



Humours, gives rife to fuch Infirmities. Now thefe are the only Diftempers that vifit us.

[163] *Labontan*. This, my dear *Adario*, is the firft time I have heard thee reafon juftly fince the Commencement of our Conferences. I acknowledge, you are exempted from an infinity of Evils that lie heavy upon us, and the reafon of this Happinefs may be gather'd from what you offer'd t'other Day, namely, *That the repoze of one's Mind is the greateft Ingredient of Health*. The *Hurons* being confin'd to the bare knowledge of Hunting, do not fatigue their Spirits, and impair their Healths, in the purfuit of an infinity of fine Sciences, in watching unfeafonably, breaking their reft and toiling hard at the ftudious Anvil. With us, a Man bred to the Sword makes it his bufinefs to read and know the Hiftory of the Wars that have happen'd in the World, and to make himfelf acquainted with the Art of Fortifying, Attacking and Defending Places: This ingroffes his whole time, which after all is too little to procure him the Accomplifhments he defires. A Man that takes to the Church plyes the Study of *Theology* Night and Day, for the good and intereft of Religion; he writes Books to inftroct People in the concerns of their Salvation, and Dedicating to God the Hours, the Days, the Months, and the Years of his Life, receives after this Life an Eternal Inheritance by way of Recompence. Our Judges apply themfelves to the knowledge of the Laws Night and Day, they examin Bills and Proceffes; they give continual Audience to an infinity of Plaintiffs that teaze 'em without Intermiffion; in fine they can fcarce fpare leifure to Eat or Drink. Our

Physicians pursue the Science of rendering Men Immortal, they run about from Patient to Patient, from Hospital to Hospital, in order to learn the Nature and the Cause of different Distempers: They rack [164] their Brains in unlocking the Qualities of Drugs, Herbs and Simples, by a thousand uncommon and curious Experiments. The *Cosmographers* and *Astronomers* bend all their thoughts upon the discovery of the Figure, Magnitude and Composition of Heaven and Earth. The former can trace the least Star in the Firmament, they measure its course, its distance from the Ecliptick, its ascension and declination: The latter know how to distinguish Climates, and the various Positions of the Globe of the Earth; they are acquainted with the Seas, Lakes, Rivers, Isles, Gulfs; they compute the distances of one Country from another; and in fine, all the Nations of the World are known to them, as well as their Religions, their Laws, their Languages, their Customs, and their various Forms of Government. To wind up all into one Word, all the Professors of Sciences are very sensible that they pursue their Studies with too much Application, and thereby murder their Health. For the animal Spirits are not strain'd out in the Brain, but in proportion to the supplies of fine Blood that it receives from the Heart; and the Heart being a Muscle can't squirt out the Blood into all the parts of the Body without the Influence of the animal Spirits. Now, when the Soul is Serene and all Tranquility as thine is, the Brain supplies all the parts of the Body with as much as they have occasion for in order to perform the Offices allotted 'em by Nature: Whereas in the case of a profound

Application to Sciences, the Soul being tofs'd and perplex'd with a croud of Thoughts, the Spirits are much exhausted and dispers'd, both by long watchings and by the racking of the Imagination. In this case all the Spirits that the Brain can form are scarce sufficient to recruit the parts employ'd by the Soul [165] in the precipitant Motions it calls for; and there being but a small Stock of Spirits in the Nerves, which convey 'em to the parts that minister to the Digestion of what we eat, their Fibres have a languid drooping motion: And thus it comes to pass that the Actions of the Body are lamely perform'd, the Digestion is imperfect, the Serum flies off from the Blood, and by falling upon the Head, the Limbs, the Nerves, the Breast and other parts, gives rise to the Dropsy, Gout, and Palsy; and to all the other Diseases you took notice of but now.

*Adario.* At that rate, my dear Brother, it must be only the Learned Men that fall into such Disorders: And upon that foot, I hope you'll own that one had better be a *Huron* than a *Science-Hunter*, considering that Health is the most valuable of all good things. But at the same time, I know very well that these Distempers have no respect of Persons, but fall upon the Ignorant as well as those of a greater Character. Not that I deny what thou sayest, for I am fully convinc'd that *Brain-Work* infeebls the Body extreamly; and I have often wonder'd how your Constitution comes to be so strong, as to keep up against the violent Shocks of Discontent and Fret, that you feel when things go cross with you. I have seen some *French*

Men tear their Hair, others cry and weep bitterly like Women Burning at a Stake, others again abstain from eating or drinking for two days, and suffer such violent Sallies of Passion as to dash every thing in pieces that came in their way: And when all came to all, their Health did not appear to be affected. Questionless, their Nature must be different from ours; for there's never a *Huron* in the World that would not die in a days time upon incountring the hundredth part of such Transports. Ay, most certainly, [166] you are of a different Mould from us; for your Wines, your Brandy, and your Spices, make us Sick unto death; whereas you can't live forth without such Drugs: Besides, your Blood is Salt and ours is not; you have got Beards, and we have none. Nay farther; I have observ'd that before you pass the Age of thirty five or forty, you are Stronger and more Robust than we; for we can't carry such heavy Loads as you do till that Age; but after that your Strength dwindles and visibly declines, whereas ours keeps to its wonted pitch till we count fifty five or sixty years of Age. This is a truth that our young Women can vouch for. They tell you that when a young *French-man* obliges 'em six times a night, a young *Huron* do's not rise to above half the number; and with the same Breath they declare, that the *French* are older in that Trade at thirty five, than the *Hurons* are at fifty years of Age. This intelligence given in by our good Girles, who are better pleas'd with your young Men's over-doing, than with the Moderation of our Youths; This intelligence, I say, led me to think that

your Gout, Dropsy, Phthifick, Palfy, Stone, and Gravel, and the other Distempers above mention'd, are certainly occasion'd, not only by the immoderateness of these Pleasures, but by the unseasonableness of the time, and the inconveniency of the way in which you pursue 'em; for when you have but just done eating, or are newly come off a fatiguing bout, you lie with your Women as often as ever you can, and that either upon Chairs, or in a Standing Posture, without considering the Damage that accrues from such indiscretion: Witness the common practice of these young Sparks in the Village of *Dofferra*, who make their Table serve for a Bed. For the purpose; you are subject to two Diseases more, [167] that we are free from. The first is that call'd by the *Illinese*, the *hot Distemper*, for that People are liable to it as well as those who live upon the *Mississipi*. This Malady goes by the Name of the *Venercal Distemper* in your Country. The other is that you call the *Scurvy*, which we style, the *cold evil*, with regard to the Symptoms and Causes of that Distemper, that we have observ'd since the Arrival of the *French* in *Canada*. You see therefore that you are liable to a great many Diseases, and those such as are not easily Cur'd. Instead of retrieving your Health, your Physicians murder you, by exhibiting Remedies calculated for their own Interest, which spin out the Distemper and kill you at last. A Physician would be still Poor if he cur'd his Patients speedily. The men of that Profession are cautious of approving of our way of Sweating; for they know the consequence of it too well, and when their Advice is ask'd upon the matter,

their Answer is to this purpose. *None but fools are capable of imitating fools; the Savages have not the name of Savages for nothing; and their Remedies are as Savage as themselves. If 'tis true that after Sweating, they throw themselves into cold Water or into Snow, without present death; their good luck is owing to the Air of the Climate, and to their way of Feeding, which differs from ours. But notwithstanding this favourable Circumstance, such and such a Savage, that would otherwise have outliv'd a hundred years of age, was cut off at eighty by the use of that terrible Remedy.* Such is the Language of your Physicians, by which they mean to scare the *Europeans* from the use of our Remedies: Tho' at the same time, 'tis certain that if you had a mind to Sweat after our way now and then, you might do it with the greatest ease and safety in the World, and by that means all the evil Humours engendred in [168] your Blood by your Wine, your Spices, your intemperate Venery, your Unseasonable Watching and your other Fatigues, would be evacuated by the Pores of the Skin. Were this Method follow'd, you might bid an eternal Adieu to Physick, and all its Poisonous Ingredients. This, my dear Brother, is as manifest as the Sun-Shine; tho' 'twill not go down with the Ignorant, who talk of nothing but Pleurifies and Rheumatisms, as the Consequents of this Cure. 'Tis strange, methinks, they will not give Ear to the Answer we make to the Objection Started by your Physicians against our way of Sweating. 'Tis an undisputed Truth that Nature is a good kind Mother, which desires to eternise our Lives; and yet we plague and torment her so violently, that some-

times she's brought to a low and weak condition, and is scarce able to Succour us. Our Debauches and Fatigues create deprav'd Humours, which Nature would throw out of the Body, if She had but Strength enough to open the Gates, *viz.* the Pores of the Skin. 'Tis true she expells as much as she can, by Urine and Stool, by the Mouth, Nose, and insensible Transpiration: But sometimes the quantity of the Serofities is so overbearing that they overflow all the parts of the Body between the Skin and the Flesh: And in that case 'tis our business to procure their egress the speediest and shortest way, for fear their longer stay should give rise to this Gout, Rheumatism, Dropsy, Palsy, and all the other Distempers that sink a healthy State. Now, to compass this end, we must unlock the Pores by the means of Sweating; and withal take care to shut 'em soon after, lest the nutritive juice should glide out by the same passage; which can be no otherwise prevented than by throwing our selves into cold Water, as we usually do. [169] 'Tis the same case as if Wolves were got into your Sheep Folds; for then you would open the Doors that the mischievous Animals might turn out; but after they're once out of Doors, you would not fail to shut 'em again for fear your Sheep should run after 'em. I own indeed that your Physicians say well, when they plead that a Man who has over-heated himself by Hunting or any violent Exercise, indangers his Life by throwing himself immediately into cold Water. That I take to be an uncontested truth; for the Blood which in that Case is agitated and boils as it were in the Veins, would certainly congeal; just as boiling Water congeals sooner than cold Water, when

expos'd to the Frost or put into a cold Fountain. This is the Sum of my Thoughts upon that Head. As to what remains, I grant we are liable to Diseases, that equally invade both us and the *French*; namely, the Small-Pox, Fevers, Pleurifies, and sometimes to what you call the Hypochondriac Illness: For we have some Fools among us who fancy they are possess'd by a little *Manitou* or Spirit of the bigness of one's Fift; which in our Language we call *Aoutaerobi*; and affirm that this Spirit is lodg'd in their Body, and particularly in a certain Member that ails never so little. This imaginary Distemper proceeds from their Simplicity and weakness of Mind: For in short, we are not without ignorant foolish Fellows among us, no more than you. You may see every day some *Hurons*, above fifty years of Age, who have less Sense and Discretion than a young Girl; some who are as Superstitious as your selves, in believing that the Spirit of Dreams is the Ambassadour and Messenger whom the Great Spirit employs to acquaint Men with their Duty. As for our Jugglers, they are Mountebanks and Cheats of the same form with your Physicians; [170] only they content themselves with the having of good Cheer at their Patient's cost, without sending 'em to the other World in acknowledgment of their Feasts and Presents.<sup>1</sup>

*Labontan*. My dearest *Adario*, I honour thee beyond all expression, for now thou arguest justly. You never spoke more to the purpose in your life time. Every word you have said

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<sup>1</sup> The feast was one of the chief ceremonies connected with the efforts of the medicine men to expel disease; in this, the conjurer played the part of host. See *Jes. Rel.*, x, pp. 179, 183, 197; I, p. 295.—ED.



of Sweating is absolutely true; and I know it to be so by experience, infomuch that while I live, I will never use any other Remedy than your way of Sweating. But at the same time, I would not have you run down Bleeding, so much as you did t'other day, when you endeavour'd by a multiplicity of Arguments to make out the necessity of saving our Blood, as being the Treasure of Life. I do not dispute its being the Treasure of Life; but I must needs say that your Remedies against Pleuresies and Inflammations, take effect only by chance, for out of twenty Sick People commonly fifteen die; whereas Bleeding in such a case might Cure 'em all. I own that this method of Cure shortens their lives, and that a man that has Bled often can't hold out so long as another that has done it but seldom; but a Man lying on a Sick Bed, wants to be cur'd at any rate, and thinks of nothing else but the present recovery of his Health; tho' it should cost him the Subtraction of some years from his life, together with the loss of his Blood. In fine, all the Remarks I have made on the Subject in hand, center in this; that the People of *Canada* have a better Complexion than the *Europeans*, that they are more Indefatigable and Robust, more inur'd to Watching, Fasting and other hardships, more insensible of Cold and Heat; infomuch that they are not only exempted from the Passions that tumble and disturb *our* Souls, but likewise shelter'd from the Infirmities that *we* groan under. You are [171] poor and miserable, but at the same time you have the benefit of perfect health: But we who enjoy the Conveniences of Life and the Instruments of Ease, are forc'd either thro' Complaisance or

by the occasional Adventures of life, to Murder our selves by an infinity of Debauches, to which you are never expos'd.

*Adario.* My Brother, I come to Visit thee, and am accompany'd by my Daughter, who is about to Marry, against my Will, a young Man that's as good a Warriour as he's a sorry Huntsman. She has a mind to't; and that is enough in our Country: But 'tis not so in *France*, where the Parents must consent to the Marrying of their Children. I am oblig'd to comply with my Daughter's demands: For if I pretend to Marry her again, she'd quickly return upon me; *What do you think Father! Am I your Slave? Shall not I enjoy my Liberty? Must I for your fancy, Marry a Man I do not care for? How can I endure a Husband that buys my Corps of my Father, and what value shall I have for such a Father as makes Brokerage of his Daughter to a Brute? And how can I have an affection for the Children of a Man I cannot love? If I should Marry him in obedience to you, and go from him in fifteen days time, as the Privileges and natural Liberties of the Nation would allow; you'll tell me 'tis not well done; and 'twould trouble you, all the World would laugh at it, and perhaps I might prove with Child.* Thus, dear Brother, would my Girl answer me, and it may be a great deal worse, as it happened some years ago to one of our old Men, who pretended to Marry his Daughter to a Man she did not love, for in my Presence she said a great many harsh things by way of Reproach: Insinuating that a Man of Spirit ought not to expose himself, in offering to advise a Person from whom he may [172] receive such affronts; neither ought he to

require such respects from his Children as he knows to be impracticable. She added then, *'twas true she was his Daughter, and he might be satisfied. He got her upon a Woman he loved as much as she hated the Husband her Father had provided for her.* You must know, we never have a Marriage contracted between Relations, let the degree be never so remote.<sup>1</sup> Our Women never Marry again after they're forty years of Age, because the Children they have after that Age are generally of a weakly Constitution. Not that they are the more Continent for this: On the contrary, you'll find them more passionately inclin'd than a Girl of twenty. And 'tis for this reason that they entertain the *French* so kindly; nay, and sometimes give themselves the trouble to follow them. However you know that our Women are not so Fruitful as the *French*, tho' they admit of more frequent Embraces; which to me is very strange, for 'tis quite contrary to what might be expected.

*Labontan.* 'Tis for the same reason, my poor *Adario*, that they Conceive not so easily as ours. If they did not indulge themselves too much in the frequency of Embraces, and receive 'em with an over-bearing Keeness, the Matter calculated for the production of Children, would have time to assume the necessary qualities for the business of Generation. It's the same case with a Field that is Sowed continually without being suffered to ly Fallow, for at last it will produce nothing (as Experience plainly shews;) on the other side, if you forbear the Ground, the Earth regains its force, the

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<sup>1</sup> Marriage between members of the same gens was forbidden among many of the Indian tribes, as such persons were assumed to be consanguine.—ED.

Serene Air, the Rain and the Sun give it a new Sap, which makes the Seed to Sprout. But prithee, my dear Friend, suffer me to ask thee one Question. What is the reason that the Women-Savages, being so rarely [173] Fruitful, have the Increase of their Nation so little in view, that a Woman shall make her self Miscarry when the Father of the Child dies, or is kill'd, before she is brought to Bed? You'll tell me, she do's it to save her Reputation; because, without that Precaution she would never have another Husband. But it would seem the Interest of the Nation, which lies in its Increase and Multiplication, is but little regarded by your Women. Now, it is not so with ours, for, as you said t'other day, our *Coueurs de Bois* and many others, find very often new Children in their Houses, at their return from their Journeys: But they are not much dissatisfied, upon the consideration, that this adds so many Bodys for the Nation, and so many Souls for Heaven: Tho' after all, their Women undergo as much disgrace upon such occasions as yours do, and sometimes are Imprisoned for Life, while yours are allow'd to entertain as many Gallants as they please afterwards. 'Tis a most abominable piece of Cruelty for a Woman to make away with her Child: A Crime which the Author of Life will never pardon: And this is one of the greatest Abuses to be reformed among you. You ought to discountenance Nakedness too; for the liberty which your Boys have of going Naked, makes a terrible Hurricane in the Minds of your young Girls; as they are not made of Bras, so the view of those parts which decency forbids me to name, can't but call up the Amorous Fire,

efpecially when the young Wantons ſhew that Nature is neither dead nor untrue to the Adventures of Love.

*Adario.* I take it, you account for the Barrenneſs of our Women admirably; for I perceive how that may come to paſs: And as for the Criminal Praſtice of our young Women in taking [174] Potions to make themſelves Miſcarry; I find your Reflections upon it are very juſt. But what you ſay of Nakedneſs do's not ſtand to Reaſon. I allow that in a Nation where diſtinſtions of Property are acknowledg'd, you are very much in the right of it, to cover not only ſuch parts as ought not to be nam'd, but even all the parts of the Body. What uſe would the *French* make of their Gold and their Silver, if they did not imploy it in providing themſelves with fine Cloaths? Since in your Country Men are valued according to their Dreſs, is it not a great advantage to be able to cover any Defect in Nature with a handſome Habit? In earneſt, Nakedneſs ought not to offend any but ſuch as allow Property. A deform'd or decrepit Man among you has found the Secret of appearing Handſome or well Dreſs'd, in a Beau Perriwig and fine Cloaths; under which 'tis impoſſible to diſtinguiſh Artificial Shapes from ſuch as are Natural. Beſides, 'twould be a great inconveniency for the *Europeans* to go Naked; for thoſe who are well provided would then find ſo much Imployment, and earn ſo much Mony for good Services, that they would not dream of Marrying as long as they liv'd; not to mention that the promiſing Aſpect would tempt the Married Women to violate their Conjugal Vows. Now, theſe reaſons can have no place among us, where every thing muſt

fit, whether great or little, for the young Women taking a view of the Naked parts, make their choice by the Eye: And for as much as Nature has observ'd the measures of Proportion in both Sexes, any Woman may be well assur'd what she has to expect from a Husband. Our Women are as Fickle as yours, and [175] for that reason the most despicable Man here never despairs of having a Wife; for as every thing appears naked and open to sight, so every Girl chooses according to her Fancy, without regarding the measures of Proportion. Some love a well shaped Man let a certain matter about him be never so little. Others make choice of an ill shap'd sorry like Fellow, by reason of the goodly size of I know not what; and others again pick out a Man of Spirit and Vigour tho' he be neither well shap'd nor well provided in [the] nameless Quarter.

This, my dear Brother, is all the Answer I have to give to your Charge upon the score of Nudity; which you know lies only against the Youths; for our married Men and Widows cover themselves both before and behind with a great deal of Nicety. And, besides, to make some Compensation for the Nudity of our Boys, our Girls are Modester than yours, for they expose nothing to open view but the Calf of their Leg, whereas yours lay their Breasts open in such a Fashion that our young Men run their Noses into 'em when they bargain about the Beaver Skins with your handfom She-merchants. Is not this a Grievance among the *French* that wants to be Redress'd? For I have it from very good Hands, that scarce any *French* Woman can resist the temptation of an

object that's mov'd by her naked Breasts. A due reformation of this indecent Custom would be a means to preserve their Husbands from the Chimerical Distemper of Horns, which you plant upon their Foreheads without ever touching or seeing them, and that by a Miracle I can't fathom: For if I plant an Apple-tree in a Garden it does not grow upon the top of a Rock; and in like manner one would think your invifible Horns should take root only [176] in the place where their Seed is sown, and appear in the Foreheads of the Women, as being a just representation of the Husbands and the Spark's Tools. In fine, this whim of the Horns is a horrid piece of Indiscretion; for why should you affront the Husband because his Wife takes her Pleasure? If in Marriage a Man marries a Woman's Vices, then the *French* way of Marriage is an Oath that runs counter to right Reason, or else a Man must keep his Wife under Lock and Key to avoid the dishonour of her Vices. The Husbands that retain to the horned Lift must needs be very numerous; for I can't imagine that a Woman can brook the severity of an eternal Chain, without having recourse to some good Friend to soften her Affliction. I should pardon the *French* if they made the Marriage to stand only upon certain Conditions, that is upon the *Proviso* that the Woman have Children, and that both she and her Husband keep their Health, so as to be able to discharge the Marriage Duties as they ought to do. This is all the Regulation that can be made in a Nation that stands to *Meum* and *Tuum*. — You *Christians* have another impertinent Custom, which I can't but take notice of. Your Men glory in the

Debauching of Women, as if yielding to the Temptations of Love were not equally Criminal in either Sex. Your young Sparks use their utmost Efforts to tempt the Maids and married Women; they set all means at work to compass their end; and when Masters of their Wishes talk publicly of the Adventure; upon which every body Cenfures the Lady, and cries up the Cavalier, whereas the former merits a Pardon, and the latter deserves to be Punish'd. How d'ye think your Women should be Faithful to you, if you are Faithless to them? If the [177] married Men keep their Cracks, will not their Wives keep Company with other Lovers? And if a Husband prefers Gaming and Drinking to his Wive's Company, will not his Wife Solace her self in the Company of a Friend? Would you have your Wives to be Wise and Discreet, and like ours, you must Love 'em as your selves, and take care not to sell 'em; for I know some Husbands among you, that consent as shamefully to the Debauching of their Wives, as some Mothers do to the Prostituting of their Daughters, and in such cases Necessity obliges 'em to it. From hence it appears, that 'tis a great Happiness for the *Hurons* that they are not reduc'd to the practice of such mean Actions, as Misery occasions among those who are not inur'd to it. We are at all times neither rich nor poor, and our Happiness upon this score goes far beyond all your Riches; for we are not forc'd to expose our Wives and Daughters to sale, in order to live upon their Drudgery in the way of Love. You'll say our Wives and Daughters are foolish and simple; and indeed I grant the Allegation, for they can't write *Billet*



*dou's* to their Acquaintances as yours do; nay, if they could write they have not the sense to fingle out by the Rules of Physiognomy a faithful old Woman that shall carry their Love-letters, and observe a profound Silence. O! that cursed Writing; that pernicious Invention of the *Europeans* who tremble at the sight of their own *Cbimera's*, which they draw themselves, by the ranking and disposal of three and twenty small Figures, that are Calculated, not for the Instruction but for the Perplexing of Men's Minds. According to your Notions of things, the *Hurons* are likewise foolish in not minding the loss of a Maiden-head in the Girls they take in Marriage, and in [178] condescending to marry the very Women that their own Companions have turn'd off: But prithee tell me, Brother, are the *French* the wiser for fancying that a Girl is a Maid because she cries and swears 'tis so? Nay, supposing her to be a true Maid, is the Conquest the greater? No, sure, on the contrary the Husband is oblig'd to teach her a Trade that she'll practise with others at a time when he is not in a condition to continue the daily Exercise. As for our marrying Women separated from former Husbands, is not that the same thing as marrying a Widow, with this difference only, that our Women have all reason to be perswaded that we Love 'em, whereas your Widows have reason to believe that you marry their Riches rather than their Persons. How many Families are reduc'd to disorder or Ruin by such Marriages with Widows? But after all you do not pretend to redress such disorders, because the evil is incurable as long as the Conjugal Tye lasts for Life. Once more,

I'll take the liberty to mention another piece of Madnefs practis'd among you, which indeed is down right Cruelty to my Mind. Your Marriages are indiffolvable, and yet a Youth and a Girl that burn in the mutual flames of Love, can't marry without the confent of their Parents. Both the one and the other muft marry who their Fathers please, in opposition to their own Inclination, tho' their Averfion to the Perfon propos'd be fo great, that they hate him mortally. The inequality of Age, Eftate and Birth is the fource of all thefe Inconveniences; they overrule the mutual Love of the two Parties that like one another. What Cruelty! What Tyranny! and that practis'd by a Father upon his own Children. Do you meet with fuch things among the *Hurons*? Among them [179] every one's as Rich and as Noble as his Neighbour; the Women are entitl'd to the fame Liberty with the Men, and the Children enjoy the fame Privileges with their Fathers. A young *Huron* may marry one of his Mother's Slaves, and neither Father nor Mother are impower'd to hinder him. This Slave by fo doing becomes a free Woman; and fince her Beauty pleafes, why fhould not the Youth prefer her to the great General's Daughter that is not fo handfome? To continue the faults of your Conftitution: Is it not a piece of Injuftice among you who abhor a community of Goods, that a Nobleman or Gentleman fhould give his eldeft Son almoft all that he has, and force the other Brethren and Sifters to reft fatisfied with a Trifle, tho' perhaps that eldeft Son is not a Lawful Child, and all the reft are? The Confequence of this is, that they throw their Daughters into perpetual

Prifons, with a fort of Barbarity which is not fuitable to the Chriftian Charity that the Jefuits preach up. As for the other Sons, they are forc'd to turn Priefts and Monks, in order to live by the fine Trade of praying to God againft their will, of preaching what they do not praétife, and of perfuading others into the belief of what they difbelieve themfelves. If any of 'em take up a Military Profeflion, they defign the pillaging the Nation more than the guarding off her Enemies. The *French* do not fight for the Intereft of their Country as we do; 'tis their own Intereft and preferment to higher Pofts that they have in view. The Love of their Country and of their Fellow-Citizens does not prevail fo much with them as Vanity, Ambition and Riches. In fine, my dear Brother, I conclude this Difcourfe in affuring thee, That the Chriftians Self-love is a piece of Folly that [180] the *Hurons* will ever condemn; and that Folly which tinctures all your Actions is remarkable in a diftinguifhing manner in the way of your Amours and Marriages; which, I muft fay, is as unaccountable as the People are who fuffer themfelves to be catch'd in that Noofe.

*Labontan.* *Adario*, you remember I fet forth before, that the Actions of Rogues are no Standard for thofe of honourable Men. I own the Juftnefs of your Cenfure as to fome Actions, which we alfo difallow of. I acknowledge that the diftinction of Property is the fource of an infinity of Paffions, of which you are clear'd. But if you take things by the right handle, efpecially our way of making Love and Marrying, the good order of our Families, and the Education of our Children,

you'll find a wonderful Conduct in all our Constitutions. That Liberty which the *Hurons* preach up occasions dismal Disorders. In their way the Children are Masters as well as the Fathers; and Wives who ought naturally to be subject to their Husbands are invested with an equal Authority. The Daughters scorn the Advice of their Mothers when there's a Lover in the case. In a Word, all this scene of Liberty reduces the way of Life to a continued course of Debauchery, by granting to Nature, in Imitation of the Brutes, an unlimited satisfaction to all its Demands. Your single Women place their Wisdom in concerting and concealing their lewd Adventures. To run with \* a Match in your Villages, is the same thing as strolling after a Whore in ours. All your young Men roll from Hut to Hut upon such Adventures while the Night lasts. The Doors of every Girls Chambers are open to all Guests, [181] and if a young Man comes that she does not like she pulls the covering over her Head, the meaning of which is, that she is Proof against his Temptation: But if another comes, perhaps she suffers him to sit down on the Foot of her Bed, in order to a dry Conference, without going farther; that is to say, she has a mind to make a fetter of this poor Fellow, that she may have several Strings to her Bow. In comes a third, whom she jilts with more refined Politicks, and allows to lye near her upon the Coverings of the Bed. But when this Spark is gone, in comes a fourth, to whose Embraces she readily grants her Bed, and her spreading Arms, for two or three Hours to

\*i. e. to enter into a  
Woman's Apartment  
in the Night time  
with a Light.

gether; and tho' he is far from trifling away the time in empty Words, yet the World takes it to be so. Behold, my dear *Adario*, the Lewdness of the *Hurons*, disguis'd with a Pretext of honest Conversation, and that so much the more that how indiscreet so ever any of their Gallants may be to their Mistresses (which rarely happens) the World is so far from giving Credit to 'em, that they brand 'em with Jealousie, which amongst you is a defamatory Affront. This being premis'd, 'tis no wonder that the *Americans* won't hear any thing of Amours in the Day time, upon the Plea that the Night was made for that purpose. In *France* this way of Intreguing is term'd *Cacher adroitment Son jeu*, dexterously to conceal ones Designs. If there's any thing of Wantonness and Debauchery amongst our Wenches, there is at least this difference, that the Rule is not General, as it is amongst yours; and besides they don't go so brutishly to work with it. The Amours of the *European* Women are Charming, they are Constant and Faithful to Death, and when they are so weak as to yield to a Lover the last Favours, they have a greater [182] regard to their inward Merit than to an outward Appearance; and 'tis not the gratifying of their own Passion that they have so much in view, as the desire of giving their Lovers sensible Proofs of their Affection. The *French* Gallants seek to please their Mistresses by Methods that are altogether agreeable, as by Respect, Attendance, and Complaisance; they are Patient, Passionate, and always ready to Sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes for 'em. They lye fighting a long time before they dare to attempt any thing, for they are resolv'd

to merit the laſt Favour by long Services; they are ſeen upon their Knees at their Miſtreſſes Feet, to beg the privilege of kiſſing the Hand; and as a Dog follows his Maſter, watching over him when he Sleeps, ſo 'mongſt us, a true Lover ne'er quits his Miſtreſs, nor ſhuts his Eyes, but that he may dream of her in his Sleep. If any one is found ſo hot upon't as bluntly to Embrace his Miſtreſs upon the very firſt occaſion, without any regard to her Weakneſs, he paſſes with us under the Character of a *Savage*, that is to ſay, a meer *Clown*, that begins where others leave off.

*Adario.* Ho, ho, my dear Brother; are the *French* e're a whit the wiſer for calling this ſort of People *Savage*? In truth, I did not believe that Word ſignify'd with you, a Prudent thinking Man. I'm glad with all my Heart at this piece of News, not doubting but one Day you may give the name of *Savage* to all the *French*, who will be wiſe enough to follow exactly the true Rules of Juſtice and Reaſon. Now the Myſtery is unriddled that prompts the cunning *French* Women to have ſuch a Love for Savage Creatures; they're not ſo much to blame for't, for in my mind, Time is too precious to loſe, and Youth too ſhort not to make the beſt of the Advantages [183] it throws in our Laps. If your Wenches are Conſtant in a continual change of Lovers, that may bear ſome reſemblance to the Humour of our Girls; but when they faithfully yield themſelves to be Careſs'd by three or four at a time, that's altogether different from the Temper of the *Hurons*. May the *French* Gallants ſpend their Lives in the Fooleries you ſpoke of but now, to conquer their

Mistresses ; may they spend their time and their Estates in purchasing a small Pleasure, usher'd in by a thousand Troubles and Cares. I shan't offer to blame them, because I have play'd the fool my self, in running the risque of Traversing, in such foolish Vessels, the rough Seas that separate *France* from this Continent, to have the pleasure of seeing the Country of the *French*. This obliges me to hold my Peace ; but reasonable People will say, That your Amorous Crew are as foolish as I, but with this difference, that their Love passes blindly from one Mistress to another, and exposes 'em to the repetition of the same Torments ; whereas I shall never take another Trip from *America* to *France*.

[185] AN  
APPENDIX.  
Containing Some New  
VOYAGES  
TO  
*Portugal and Denmark.*

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LETTER I.

Dated at *Lisbon*, April 20. 1694.

Containing a Description of *Viana, Porto a Porto, Aveiro, Coimbra, Lisbon*; together with a View of the Court of *Portugal*; and an Account of the Government, Laws, Customs, Commerce and Humours of the *Portuguese*.

SIR,

I BEGIN my letter with that ancient saying; *Una salus viſtis nullam ſperare ſalutem*; my meaning is, that after the receipt of ſome bad News relating to my buſineſs, I find I have Spirit enough to brave all the Jolts of Fortune. The Univerſe which Swallows and Jeſuits [186] take for their Country, muſt likewise be mine; till ſuch time as it pleaſes God to ſend to the other World, ſome Perſons that do him very little Service here.



I am glad my Memoirs of *Canada* please you, and that my Savage Style did not turn your Affection: Tho' after all, *you* have no reason to criticise upon my Jargon, for both you and I are of a Country, where no body can speak *French* but when they are not able to open their Mouths: Besides, 'twas not possible for me who went so young to *America*, to find out in that Country, the Mystery of Writing Politely. That's a Science that is not to be learn'd among the Savages, whose Clownish Society is enough to fasten a brutish twang upon the Politest Man in the World. Since you press me to continue my Accounts of what new things I meet with, I willingly comply with your desire; but you must not expect those nice Descriptions you speak of, for if I pretended to any such thing, I should expose my self to the Derision of those to whom you may shew my Letters. I am not sufficiently qualify'd to outdo the curious Remarks that an infinity of Travellers have publish'd. 'Tis enough for me if I furnish you with some private Memoirs of some things that other Travellers have Wav'd, as being beneath their regard: And for as much as these Memoirs treat of such Subjects as were never yet handled in Print, you will meet with some Satisfaction upon the score of their Novelty. With this View, I shall be very punctual in Writing to you from time to time, from whatever corner of the World my Misfortunes may lead me to; but upon this condition, that you shall take an exact care to let me have your Answers. In the mean time, I must acquaint you that I can't undertake to Frenchify [187] the

Foreign Names; and therefore shall Write 'em as the People of the Country do, leaving it to you to pronounce 'em as you please.

You remember I Writ to you about ten Weeks ago, that upon laying down three hundred Pistoles to the Captain of the Ship that brought me from *Placentia* to *Viana*, I had the good luck to get a Shoar there; and so I shall resume the thread of my Journal, from that place where I last took leave of it. I had no sooner jump'd out of the Sloop, than a *French* Gentleman, who has serv'd the King of *Portugal* these four and thirty years † in the quality of a Captain of Horse, came and offer'd me the use of his House, for in that place there's no publick Houses but such as are Calculated for common Seamen. The next day this old Officer advis'd me to go and wait upon *Don John of Souza*, Governour General of the Province between the *Douro* and the *Minho*. He acquainted me farther, that every body gave him the Title of *L' Excellentia*; and that he gave the Title of *Senoria* only to the Gentlemen of the first Rank, and \**Merced* to all the rest. When I heard this, I chose instead of speaking *Spanish* to him, to make use of an Interpreter, who Metamorphos'd all the You's of my Compliment into a *Portuguese Excellentia*.

† Since *Mon-*  
*fieur de Schom-*  
*berg's time.*

\**A Title some-*  
*what higher*  
*than You.*

*Viana* lies five Leagues to the Westward of *Braga*, and is inclos'd in a Right-Angle made by the Sea and the River *Lima*. Here I saw two Monasteries of *Benedictine Nuns*, which

were so ill provided that they would Starve for Hunger, if  
 their Relations and || Devoto's did not assist  
 || i. e. *those who* 'em. Upon the Sea Side there stands a very  
*have a respect* good Castle, Fortified after Count *Pagan's* way :  
*for the Nuns.*

'Tis covered [188] with several large Culver-  
 ines, which guard off the Sallymen from Attacking the Vessels  
 that lye at Anchor in the Road. In this Road, the Ships are  
 Shelter'd from the fourteen Points of the Wind, that lye

between North and South, in by East. The  
 \* i. e. *A Port that a* River is a *havre de barre*, or \* *Bar-Haven*,  
*Ship can't enter but* which no Ship ventures upon without call-  
*at full Sea ; for fear* ing out Pilots, by a Signal of a Gun or a  
*of touching the Sands* Flag twisted round. The Ships come all  
*or Flats. Bayonne,* in at High Water, and when the Tide runs  
*Bilbao, Stona, Vi-* out are left dry, unless they Ride upon the  
*ana, Porto, Aveirco,* Pit, which has always eight or ten Fathom  
*Mondego, and Lis-* at low Water.  
*bon, are all Havres*  
*de Barre.*

*Febr. 4.* I hir'd two Mules, one for my self and another  
 for my Man, at the rate of three *Spanish* Piafters or Cobs ;  
 and put on so briskly that I arriv'd that Night at *Porto a Porto*,  
 which was twelve Leagues off. These Creatures Amble both  
 fast and smoothly, without Stumbling or tiring the Rider.  
 Your Cavaliers have the conveniency of resting themselves  
 when they will upon the Portmantles which are fasten'd to  
 two Iron Rings at the Pummel of the Saddle. The Saddles  
 of that Country are too hard for such a Lean Man as me.  
 The Road between *Viana* and *Porto a Porto* is Stony, but  
 pretty good ; the Ground lies upon a Level, the Prospect is

*A Bow*



*A Chib call'd Caffe-tete*



*an Arrow*



*A Savage taken in war and burnt by his Enemies*



*A woman that condemns to death a prisoner that is given her*



*A Savage Shot.*



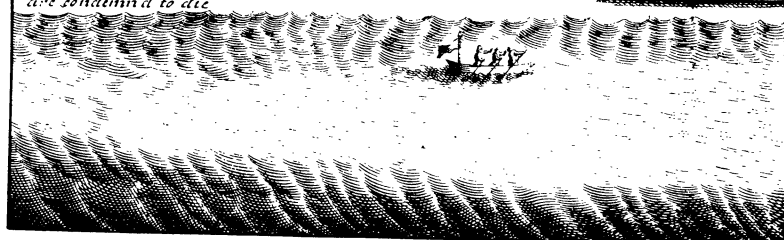
*A woman that gives a prisoner his life*



*The beating of the prisoners that are condemn'd to die*



*The Savages returning to the Village.*





pleasant, and the Sea Side is adorn'd with several large Villages, the chief of which are *Exposende*, *Faons*, and *Villa de Conde*. When I arriv'd at *Porto*, my Guide carry'd me to an *English* Inn, the only one that was fit to entertain Gentlemen. This City is cramm'd with *French*, *English* and *Dutch* Merchants, [189] who croud thither upon the account of the Commerce; tho' the latter have suffer'd by't sufficiently, since the beginning of the War, by vertue of the Civility of our Privateers, who make no scruple to take their Ships. *Porto* stands upon the declivity of a Steep Hill, the Foot of which is Wash'd by the River *Douro*, that falls into the Sea a League lower upon a † *Barr*. This Bar which lies in the Mouth of the *Douro*, is so suspected by Sailors, that they never approach to it, but when the Weather is good, and when they have some of the Pilots of the Country on Board; for upon the Sand of the Bar there are Rocks, some hidden and some seen, which render it inaccessible to Strangers. A Ship of four hundred Tun may come over exactly at high Water; which is punctually the time that any Ship ought to make this River. Here we see a fine Key reaching from one end of the Town to the other, upon which every Vessel is Lash'd over against the owners Doors. In this River, I had

*\*A Bar, properly speaking, is a Bank of Sand, which commonly runs across the Mouth of the Rivers that have not a sufficient Rapidity to throw back into the Sea the Sands that are cast in upon 'em, when the Winds blow hard from the Main. All Bars maybe call'd Banks of Sand; for I never heard of a Bar consisting of a ridge of Rocks. Now this Sand rises nearer to the Surface of the Water, like a little Hill in a Plain, so that Ships can't get over it but at high Water.*

the opportunity of viewing the *Brazil* Fleet, confifting of thirty two *Portuguese* Merchantmen, the leaft of which carry'd two and twenty Guns. I faw likewise feveral Foreign Ships, and particularly five or fix *French* Privateers, that put in there to Buy Provisions and Ammunition.

*Porto* is a Stately fine City, and well Pav'd; but its Scituation upon a Mountain is inconvenient, [190] in regard that it obliges one to be always upon the Afcent or Defcent. The Gallery of the Regular Canons of St. *Aufin's* is as curious a piece of Architecture for its uncommon length, as their Church is with refpect to the roundnefs of its Figure, and the Riches of the infide. In this City they have a Parliament, a Bifhoprick, Academies for the Exercifes of young Gentlemen, and an Arfenal for the fitting out of the Men of War, that are Built every year near the Mouth of the River. I wonder that this Town is not better Fortified, efpecially confidering 'tis the Second City in *Portugal*. Its Walls are fix Foot thick, and at certain diftances fhew us the Ruines of old Towers that time has levell'd with the Ground. They were built by the *Moors*, and are the moft irregular piece of Work that thofe times produc'd: So that you may eafily guefs whether 'twould be any hard matter to take this Town at the firft Attack.

'Tis well for the *Portuguese* that this Province, which is one of the beft in *Portugal*, is almoft inacceffible to their Enemies whether by Sea or Land; the Sea Side being guarded by Barrs, and the Land by impracticable Mountains. 'Tis very

Populous, and all its Valleys which are full of Towns and Villages, afford great quantities of Wine and Olives, and feed numerous Flocks of Cattel, the Wool of which is pretty fine. This I Write upon the Information of some *French* Merchants, who are perfectly well acquainted with this Province. I am told that 'tis impossible to make the *Douro* Navigable, by reason of the Water-Falls and Currents that run between the prodigious Rocks. This, Sir, is all I know of the matter; so I hope you'll content your self with it.

[191] The 10<sup>th</sup> I fet out for *Lisbon* in a Sedan, which I Hir'd for eighteen thousand six hundred *Reys*, a number of pieces that are enough to frighten those who do not know that they are but *Deniers*. Since the *Portuguese* State all their Accounts in this fashion; I must acquaint you that a *Rey* is nothing else but a *Denier*, or the 12<sup>th</sup> part of a Penny; and that this numerous quantity of Pieces amounts to no more than twenty five *Piaftres*. My Litter-Man ingag'd for this Fare to fet me down at *Lisbon*, on the ninth day of *March*; tho' at the same time, he was oblig'd to go two or three Leagues out of his way, to satisfy the Curiosity I had to pass by the way of *Aveiro*, where I arriv'd the next day.

*Aveiro* is a paltry little Town Seated on the Sea Side, and upon the Banks of a little River, Guarded by a Bar, which the Ships that draw under nine or ten foot Water, cross at High Water by the direction of the Coasting Pilots. 'Tis Fortified after the *Moorish* way, as well as *Porto*. In this place, there's as much Salt made as will serve two or three Provinces. 'Tis



adorn'd with a pretty Monastrey of Nuns, who give proof of their ancient Nobility and Origin  
 † i. e. Ancient Christians, of their ancient Nobility and Origin  
*a great Title of Honour in* from the † *Chriftiaon Veilho*. The  
*that Country, by reason of* Country gives a most pleasant Prof-  
*its being uncommon.* pect for three Leagues to the East-  
 ward; that is, to the great *Lisbon* Road, which is Hemm'd  
 in by a ridge of Mountains from *Porto* to *Coimbra*.

The 14<sup>th</sup> I arriv'd at *Coimbra*; and when I talk'd of Seeing the Univerfity, my Sedan Man told me that this piece of Curiofity would ftop me for a whole day: So that I can only tell you that this Univerfity you find mention'd in fome Travels, is render'd Famous by the King of *Portugal*'s [192] Efforts, ever fince his Acceffion to the Throne, to make all Sciences flourish within its Walls. The Town affords nothing that's very remarkable, unlefs it be a double Stone Bridge, one above another, between which one may crofs the River without being feen; and two fine Convents, one for Monks, and another for Nuns, lying at the diftance of forty or fifty Paces from one another. *Coimbra* bears the Title of a Dutchy, and is Intitled to feveral confiderable Prerogatives. It fands fix Leagues off the Sea, at the Foot of a Steep Hill, upon which you may fee the Churches and Monaftries, and two or three fine Houfes. The Bifhoprick of this place which is Suffragan to *Braga*, is one of the beft Bifhopricks in *Portugal*. The Road from *Coimbra* to *Lisbon* is Pleasant, and affords a pretty Proſpect; the Country is pretty well Peopled.

I arriv'd at *Lisbon* the *Metropolis* of this Country on the 18<sup>th</sup>, and was not near fo tyr'd as I was uneasy in making ufe

of that flow way of Travelling which can fuit none but Ladies and old Fellows. I had better have hir'd Mules, for then I might have gone through in five days time, and that for a very small Charge; viz. thirteen *Piafters* for me and my Servant. In the mean time, give me leave to tell you by the bye, that your tender Sparks would never be able to bear the inconveniency of the *Pofada's* (or Inns) upon the Road: They have fuch sorry pitiful Accommodation, that the very Description of 'em would be enough to fcare you from going to *Lisbon*, tho' you had never fo much bufinefs there. However I was as well fatisfied, as if they had been the beft Inns in *France*; for having fpent the whole courfe of my Life in Scouring the Sea, the Lakes, and the Rivers of *Canada*, and having liv'd for the moft part upon Roots and Water, [193] with a Bark Tent for my Canopy; I eat heartily of all that they fet before me. You muft know, Sir, the Landlord condufts the Paffengers to a bye place that looks more like a Dungeon than a Chamber; and there you muft ftay with a great deal of patience, till he fends you fome Ragou's Season'd with Garlick, Pepper, Chibbols, and a hundred Medicinal Herbs, the fmell of which would turn an *Iroquefe's* Stomach. To compleat the nicety of your Entertainment, you muft lye down upon Quilts or Mattreffes fpread out on Planks, without either Straw or Coverlets; and thefe Mattreffes are no thicker than this Letter, fo that 'twould require two or three hundred of 'em to make your Bed fofter than Stones. 'Tis true, the Landlord finds you as many Quilts as you please for a Penny a piece, and takes the pains to fhake 'em down, and beat off the Flea's,

Bugs, &c. But thank God, I had no occasion to make use of 'em, for I still kept my Hammock, which was easily hung up in any place I came to, by two large Iron Hooks. But after all, the account I now give you of the *Portuguese* Inns, is all a Jest in comparison with the *Spanish*, if we may credit Men of Reputation: And *that* I take to be the reason that Travellers pay little or nothing for their Fare either in the one or the other.

The next day after my Arrival at *Lisbon*, I waited upon the Abbot *d'Estrees*; whom the K. of *Portugal* has a great respect for, and who is so much esteem'd by every body, that they justly give him the Title of '*O Mais Perfeito dos Perfeitos Cavalheiros*, i. e. *The most Accomplish'd of the most Accomplish'd Gentlemen*. His Equipage is Magnificent enough, tho' he has not yet made his publick Entry. His Family is kept in excellent Order; his House is very well Furnish'd, and his [194] Table is nice and well serv'd. Oftentimes he entertains the Persons of Note, who would not visit him, if he did not give 'em the Precedency. This piece of deference would have seem'd ridiculous, if the King his Master had not order'd it

to be so in Mr. *D'Opede's*\* time: For it looks very odd to see the meanest Ensign in the Army take the Right hand of an Ambassadour, who denies that Precedency to all the Ministers of the Second Rate. The *Portuguese* Noblemen and Gentlemen are Men of Honour and Honesty, but they are so full of themselves that they fancy themselves the Purest and Ancientest Stock of Nobility and Gentry in the World.

\* *He was formerly Ambassadour at this Court.*

Those of distinguishing Titles expect your *Excellency* for their Compellation; and they are so tender of their Dignity, that they never visit any one that lodges in a publick House. None but Persons of an Illustrious Birth are dignify'd with the Title of † *Don*; for the most honourable Posts can't Intitle 'em to that Venerable Character; inso-much that the Secretary of State, who is possess'd of one of the greatest Posts in the Kingdom, do's not pretend to assume it.

† *The Word is exactly of the same Importance with Messire, and with the Spanish, Sire or Sieur, which the Coblers, &c. claim as their due.*

The King of *Portugal* is of a large Stature, and well Made; he has a very good Meen, tho' his Complexion is somewhat Brown.<sup>1</sup> 'Tis said, he is as constant in his Resolutions, as in his Friendship. He is perfectly well acquainted with the State of his Country. He is so Liberal and full of Bounty, that he can scarce refuse his Subjects the Favours they ask. The Duke of *Cadaval* his first Minister and Favourite has potent Enemies; [195] upon the account that he appears more Zealous for his Master than the other Courtiers; and at the same time, more hearty for the *French* Interest.

The Situation and various Prospects of *Lisbon* would Entitle it to the Character of one of the finest Cities in *Europe*, if it were not so very nasty. It stands upon seven Mountains, from whence you have a View of the finest Land-Skip in the World, as well as of the Sea, the River *Taio*, and the Forts that guard the Mouth of the River. This Mountainous City puts the

<sup>1</sup> The king of Portugal was Pedro II of the house of Braganza; born in 1648, he succeeded his brother as king in 1683, and reigned until his death in 1706. — ED.

People to a great inconvenience, that are forced to walk on foot; but this inconvenience affects Strangers and Travellers most, whose Curiosity is in some measure thwarted by the trouble of rambling still upon ascents and descents; for you can't have the accommodation of Hackny-Coaches, that are common elsewhere. Here we meet with Stately and Magnificent Churches; the most considerable of which are *La Ceu*, *Noire Dame de Loreto*, *San Vicente*, *San Roch*, *San Pablo*, and *Santo Domingo*. The *Benedictin* Monastery of *St. Bento* is the finest and best Indow'd Monastery that the Town affords; But last Month part of its fine Fabrick was Burnt down by an unfortunate Fire; and upon that occasion I saw more Silver Plate carried out of it than six great Mules could carry.

If the King's Palace were finish'd, 'twould be one of the noblest Edifices in *Europe*; but the compleating of it would cost at least two Millions of Crowns. Strangers lodge for the most part in the Houses that Front the *Taio*. I know several *French* Merchants, some Popish and some Protestants, who are very considerable Traders in this Country. The Popish *French* Merchants are protected by *France*, and the Protestants take Shelter under the *English* and *Dutch*. Here we [196] reckon almost Fifty *English* Families, and as many *Dutch*, besides some other Forreigners, who do all of 'em get Estates in a very little time, by the great vent of the Commodities of the Country. The *English* *Baetas*, or the *Colchester* light Stuffs sell admirably well in this Place; and there's great Profit got upon the *French* Linnen, the *Tours* and *Lions* Silk Stuffs,

*French* Ribbands, Lace and Iron Ware; which are ballanc'd by Sugar, Tobacco, Indigo, Cacao Nuts, &c.

The *Alfandigua* or Duty of Sugar and Tobacco is one of the best Branches of the Royal Revenue, as well as that on Silk, Linnen and Woollen Cloath, which the Merchants are oblig'd to get Stamp'd upon the payment of a certain Duty proportionable to the value and quality of the Effects. Your dry'd Cod pays almost Thirty *per Cent* Custom; so that there's scarce any thing got by Importing of them, unless it be when the first Ships come in from *Newfoundland*. Tobacco, whether in Snuff or in Rolls, is sold by Retail at the same price as in *France*; for Snuff is worth two Crowns a Pound, and the other Tobacco is sold for about Fifty Pence. 'Tis easie to evade the Customs, if one has a right understanding with the Guards, who are a parcel of Knaves that the sound of a Pistole will make as flexible as you can wish. No Portmanteau or Cloakbag can be carried into the City without being search'd by these doughty Gentlemen. Galloons, Fringes, Brocado's, and Gold or Silver Ribbands are Confiscated as Contreband Goods; for no Person, of what Station soever, is allow'd to have Silver or Gold Thread either in his Cloaths or the Furniture of his House.

All Books, in what Language soever, are immediately laid before the Inquisition, and burnt [197] if they do not please the Inquisitors. This Tribunal, of which a *French* Physician gives us a Pathetick Description, from the sad experiences of the Evils he underwent at *Goa*; this Tribunal, I say, which

belches out more Fire and Flames than *Mount Gibel*, is so hot upon the Point that if this Letter came before 'em, both it and the Author would be in equal danger of being burn'd; and 'tis upon this Consideration that I take care to hold my Peace, especially since the very Grandees of the Kingdom are affraid to speak of this Sanctified Office. Some Days ago I had an Interview with a sensible wife *Portugese*, who after informing me of the Manners and Customs of the People of *Angola* and *Brazil*, where he had liv'd several Years, took pleasure to hear me recount the Fashions and Humours of the Savages of *Canada*; but when I came to the broiling of the Prisoners of War that fall into the Hands of the *Iroquese*, he cry'd out with a furious Accent, That the *Iroquese* of *Portugal* were yet more cruel than those of *America*, in burning without Mercy their Relations and Friends, whereas the latter inflicted that Punishment only upon the cruel Enemies of their Nation.

In former Times the *Portuguese* had such a Veneration for the Monks, that they scrupl'd to enter into their Wives Chambers, at a time when the good Fathers were exhorting them to something else than Repentance; but now a days they are not allow'd so much Liberty: And indeed I must own, that the greatest part of 'em live such lewd and irregular Lives, that their extravagant Debauches have shock'd me a hundred times. They have Indulgences from the Pope's Nuncio to follow all manner of Libertinism; for that Papal Minister, whose Power is unlimited as to Ecclesiasticks, gives 'em leave, [198] notwithstanding the Remonstrances of their Superiors, to wear a Hat in the City, (*i. e.* to go about without

a Companion) to lie out of the Convent, and even to take a Country Journey now and then. Perhaps they would be wifer, and their number would be smaller, if they were not oblig'd (as well as the Nuns) to make their Vows at 14 Years of Age.

Most of the *Portuguese* Coaches are Chariots Imported from *France*. None but the King and Ambassadors are drawn by six Horses or Mules within the City Walls; out of the City, indeed, your Persons of Quality may have a hundred if they will; but within the Walls they dare not have more than four. The Ladies and the old Gentlemen are carried in Sedans or Chairs, so that Chariots are only made use of by the younger Noblemen; none are allow'd to make use of Coaches and Sedans but the Nobility, Envoys, Residents, Consuls, and Ecclesiasticks; so that the richest Citizens and Merchants must content themselves with a sort of Calash with two Wheels, drawn by one Horse, and driven by themselves. The Mules that carry the Litters or Sedans are larger, finer and not so broad Chested as those of *Auvergne*. A Brace of 'em, generally speaking, is worth Eight hundred Crowns; nay some of 'em will fetch Twelve hundred, especially if they come from the Country of the famous *Don Quixot*, which lies at a great distance from *Lisbon*. The Coach Mules come from *Estremadura*, and are worth about a hundred Pistoles a Pair. The Saddle and Carriage Mules, and the *Spanish* Horses, are *Cent per Cent* dearer than in *Castile*. When 'tis fair Weather the young Sparks ride up and down the City on Horse-back, on purpose to shew themselves to the Ladies,



who like Birds in a Cage [199] have no other Privilege than  
 \* *Windows with Grates, the Intervals of which are no larger than one's little Finger.* that of viewing through the \* Chinks of Jealousie the Creatures whose Company they wish for in their Prisons. The Monks who are provided for by Indowments make no Visits on Foot, for their Convent keeps a certain number of Saddle Mules, which they make use of by turns: And 'tis wonderful Comical to see the good Fathers patrol and wheel about the Streets with great long crown'd Hats like Sugar-loafs, and Spectacles that cover three fourths of their Face.

Tho' *Lisbon* is a very large City, and a place of great Trade, yet there's but two good *French* Inns or Ordinaries in the whole Town, where one may eat tolerably well for five and thirty *Sous* a Meal. Questionless the number of good Ordinaries would be enlarg'd in course, if the *Portuguese* took pleasure in Eating and Drinking; for then they would not condemn those who are solicitous to find out good Cheer. They are not contented with disdaining the Trade of an Innkeeper; but the very name of a Publick House is so odious to them, that they scorn to visit any Gentleman that Lodges in those charming Quarters. For this reason, Sir, you would do well to advise any Friend of yours, that has the Curiosity to Travel into *Portugal*, and means to make any stay in this Town, to go into a Pension at some *French* Merchants House. One may feed very well in this Town, only 'tis somewhat dear. The *Alemteio* Poultry, the *St. Ubal* Hares and Partridges, and the *Algarva* Butchers Meat eat admirably well. The *Lamego*

Bacon and Hams are nicer Food than those of *Mayence* and *Bayonne*; and yet that sort of Meat fits so uneasie upon the Stomach of a *Portuguese*, that, [200] if 'twere not for the Consumption in the Monks and Inquisitors House, there would scarce be any Hogs in all *Portugal*. The *Portuguese* Wines are strong and have a good Body, especially the Red Wines which run very near to a Black Colour. The *Alegrete* and *Barra a Barra* Wines are the finest and those of the thinnest Body.

The King never tastes Wine, and the Persons of Quality drink of it but very seldom, no more than the Women. To fathom the reason of this Abstinence we must consider that *Venus* has such an Interest in *Portugal*, that the Face of her Charms hath always kept *Bacchus* from any Footing in this Country. Here that Goddess causes so much Idolatry, that she seems to dispute with the true God for a right to the Worship and Adoration of the *Portuguese*, and that in the most Sacred Places; for the Churches and Processions make the common *Rendezvous* where the Amorous Assignments are made. 'Tis there that the \* *Bandarro's*, the Ladies of Pleasure and the Women of Intrigue, take their Posts; for they never fail to assist at the Festivals that are Celebrated at least three or four times a Week, sometimes in one Church and sometimes in another.

\* *A sort of Braggadocio Bully's, of Don Quixot's Temper, who have no other Employment than that of hunting after Adventures.*

The swaggering Adventurers have a wonderful Talent of discovering their Amorous Desires with one glance of the Eye to the Ladies who return 'em an Answer by the same Signal; and this they call *Corresponding*. This done, they have nothing to

do but to find out their Houses, by following 'em Foot for Foot from the Church Door to their respective Apartments. The conclusion of the Intrigue lies in marching straight on to the corner of the Street without looking about [201] for fear the Husband or Rivals should smell a Rat. At the end of the Street they have so much occasion for a large stock of Patience that they must stand there two or three hours till a Servant Maid comes, whom they must follow till she finds  
 † i. e. *A Message* a handsome opportunity of delivering her  
*or a watch Word* † *Recado* safely. The Adventurers must trust  
*in order to an In-* these goodly Confidents, and sometimes run  
*terview.* the risque of their Lives upon their Word  
 and Directions; for they are as cunning as they are true to their Mistresses, from whom they receive Presents as well as from the Suitors, and sometimes from the Husbands.

In former times the *Portuguese* Women cover'd their Faces with their || *Manto's*, and expos'd nothing to view but one Eye, as the *Spanish* Women do to this Day; but as soon as they perceiv'd that the Sea Towns were replenish'd with as fair Children as any are in *France* or *England*, the poor *Manto's* were discarded, and forbid to approach the Face of a Lady. The *Portuguese* have such an Antipathy and Horror for *Aëleon's* Arms, that they had rather cut their own Fingers than take Tobacco out of an Horn-Box; tho' after all the Horn Commodity begins to take here, notwithstanding the repeated Discouragements of Poyson and the Sword. Almost every Month brings us fresh

|| *Veils of Taffetas*  
*which cover'd both*  
*the Face and the*  
*Body, and at the*  
*same time cloak'd*  
*their Intrigues.*

Instances of some Tragical Adventure of that Nature, especially when the *Angola* or *Brazil* Fleets are juſt come in; for the greateſt part of the Seamen that go upon theſe Voyages are ſo unfortunate, that when they return home they find their Wives lock'd up in [202] Monafteries inſtead of their own Houſes. The reaſon of their voluntary Confinement is this; that they chooſe thus to expiate and atone for the Sins they committed in their Huſbands abſence, rather than be ſtabb'd at their return. Upon this ſcore we ought not to Cenſure thoſe who repreſented the Ocean with a Bull's Horns, for in good earneſt almoſt all that expoſe themſelves to the brunts of the Sea make much ſuch another Figure. In fine, Gallantry in the way of Amours is too tickliſh a Trade in this Place, for it runs a Man in danger of his Life. Here we find plenty of Whores, whoſe Company ought by all means to be avoided; for beſides the danger of ruining one's Health, a Man runs the riſque of being knock'd on the Head if he frequents their Company. The handſomeſt Whores are commonly *Amezada'd* or hir'd by the Month by ſome *kind Keepers*, that have a watchful Eye over 'em; but notwithstanding all the Keepers Precaution, they enjoy the Diverſion of ſome wiſe Companions at the expence of ſuch Fools. The Fools I now ſpeak of lye under an indiſpenſible Neceſſity of keeping up and feeding with Preſents the pretended Love and Fidelity of the ſaid *Lais's*, the Enjoyment of whom is unconceivably Chargeable. The Nuns receive frequent Viſits from their *Devoto's*, who have a warmer Paſſion for them than for the Women of this World, as it appears from the Jealouſies,

Quarrels, and a Thousand other Diforders that arife among the Rivals upon the fcore of Intrigue. Formerly the Parlours of the Monasteries were guarded only with a fingle Grate, but fince my Lord *Grafton* and fome of the Captains of his Squadron had the Curiofity to touch the Hands, &c. of the Nuns of *Odiveta*; the King ordered all the Convents in the Kingdom to [203] have double Grates upon their Parlours. At the fame time he almoft ftifled the Pretention of the *Devoto's*, by prohibiting any one to approach to a Convent without a lawful Occafion, tho' to frame an occafion is eafie to one that has the folly to be in Love with thefe poor Girls.

The *Portuguese* are a People of a quick Apprehenfion; they think freely, and their Expreffions come up to the juftnefs of their Thoughts: They have able Phyficians and learned Cafuifts among 'em. The Celebrated *Camoens* was without difpute one of the moft Illuftrious Citizens of *Parnaffus*. The teeming variety of his excellent Thoughts, his choice of Words, and the politenefs and eafie freedom of his Stile, charm'd all who were fufficiently acquainted with the *Portuguese* Language.<sup>1</sup> 'Tis true he had the Misfortune of being rally'd upon by *Moreri*, and by fome *Spanish* Authors; who, when they could not avoid owning, that 'tis impoffible to furpafs the Genius of this unfortunate Poet, blacken'd his Character with the imputation of Infidelity and Profanity. A *Catalan* Monk falls foul upon a hundred Places of his

<sup>1</sup> Lahontan here shows his familiarity with Portuguese literature, and its greatest poet, Luiz de Camoëns, who died in 1579. His genius went largely unrecognized during his lifetime, and, as our author indicates, he was subjected to petty persecutions. — ED.

*Laziadas Endechas Esfrivillas*, &c. and brands him for an Impious Rattle-brain'd Fellow. To quote two Places that he Cenfures; the firft is the Cadence of a Sonnet entituled *Soneto Nuo Impreffo*; where after fome Reflections the Poet fays, *Mais O Melbor de tudo e crer en Chrifto*; i. e. *After all, the fureft way is to believe in Chrift*. The Second is the Conclufion of a *Gloza*, viz. *Si Deus fe Busca no Mundo neffes ollos fe achara*. That is to fay, in fpeaking to a Lady, *If we look for God in this World we'll find him in your Eyes*.

The *Portuguese* Pulpit-men cry up their Saints almoft above God himfelf; and to exaggerate their Sufferings lodge 'em in Stables rather than [204] in Paradife. They conclude their Sermons with fuch Pathetick Cries and Exclamations, that the Women figh and cry as if they were in defpair. In this Country the Title of a Heretick is accounted highly infamous; and indeed it bears a very odious Signification. The Priests and Friars hate *Calvin* for Curtailing the bufinefs of Confeflion, as much as the Nuns efteem *Luther* for his Monaftical Marriage. In the City they make Proceffions from one end of the Town to the other, every *Friday* in *Lent*. I have feen above a hundred difcipline themfelves in the Streets, in an odd manner. They were clad in White, with their Face cover'd and their Back naked; which they lafh fo handfomely, that the Blood fpurts in the Face of the Women who are fet upon the fides of the Streets, on purpofe to ridicule and vilify the leaft Bloody. Thefe were follow'd by others in Masks, who carried Croffes, Chains, and bundles of Swords of an incredible weight.

The Foreigners of this place are almost as Jealous as the *Portuguese*; inſomuch that their Wives are afraid to ſhew themſelves to their Husband's beſt Friends. They affect the *Portugueſe* Severity with ſo much exactneſs, that theſe poor Captives dare not lift up their Eyes in the Preſence of a Man. But notwithſtanding all their precaution, they ſometimes meet with the Miſchief that they take ſuch care to avoid. The City is Peopled with perſons of all Colours, ſome Black, ſome Mulatto's, ſome Swarthy, and ſome of an Olive Complexion: But the Greateſt part are *Trigenbo's*, i. e. of the Colour of Corn. The medley of ſo many different hues, do's ſo mingle the Blood of the Nation, that the true Whites make but a very ſcanty number; and 'tis for this reaſon, that if one were to ſay in *Portugueſe*, *I am a Man* (or [205] *a Woman*) of Honour; the nobleſt expreſſion he can find, is, *Eu ſou Branco*, or *Branca*, i. e. *I am a White*.

You may walk up and down *Lisbon* night and day without fearing Pickpockets. Till three or four a Clock in the Morning, you have Muſicians that play in the Streets on *Guitars*, and joyn to the Sweetneſs of that Inſtrument, the moſt moanful Songs that can be imagin'd. The way of Dancing among the ordinary ſort of People is very indecent, by reaſon of the impertinent Motions of their Head and Belly. The Inſtrumental Muſick of the *Portugueſe* is diſagreeable at firſt to the Ears of a Foreigner; but at the bottom it has ſomewhat in it that's ſweet, and pleaſes, when one is accuſtom'd to it. Their Vocal Muſick is ſo coarſe, and its diſcordant Notes are ſo unhappily link'd together; that the chattering of a Crow is

more Melodious. Their Church Musical Composures are all in the *Castilian* Language, as well as their Pastorals and most of their Songs. They endeavour to imitate the *Spanish* Customs as much as possible; nay, they are so nice in observing the Ceremonies of the *Spanish* Court, that the *Portuguese* Ministers would be very much disoblig'd if the least Formality were lop'd off. The King and the Grantees wear much such another Habit as our Financiers or Receivers of the Royal Revenue. They have a close Coat with a Cloak of the same colour; a great Band of *Venice* Point, with a long Perriwig, a Sword, and a Dagger. They give the Title of *Excellentia* to Ambassadors, and that of *Senhoria* to Envoys and Residents.

The Port of *Lisbon* is large, safe and convenient; tho' the Entry is very difficult. The Ships Ride at Anchor between the City and the Castle of *Almada*, at eighteen Fathom Water on a good [206] strong Ground. The *Lisbon* River is call'd by the *Portuguese*, *O Rey dos Rios*, i. e. *The King of Rivers*. 'Tis almost a League broad where the Ships Ride; at which place the Tide rises twelve foot perpendicular, and runs above ten Leagues farther up towards its source. All Captains of Ships, whether Men of War or Merchant Men, Foreigners or Natives, are expressly prohibited to Salute the City with a Discharge of Cannon, or fire a Ship Gun before it, upon any pretence whatsoever. The Consuls of *France*, *England* and *Holland*, have five or six thousand Livres a piece allow'd 'em yearly; besides which, they make a shift to get as much more by Trading.



This, Sir, is all the account I can give you at present of this charming Country; which to my mind would be a Paradise upon Earth, if 'twere Inhabited by Peasants that had less of the Gentleman in their Conduct. The Climate is admirably sweet and agreeable; the Air is clear and serene, the Water of the Country is wonderful good, and the Winter is so mild that I have felt no cold as yet. In this Country, the People may live for an Age without any inconveniency from advancing Years. The old Persons are not loaded with the Infirmities that plague those of other Countries; their Appetite do's not fail 'em, and their Blood is not so dispirited, but that their Wives can vouch for their perfect health. Ardent Fevers make a terrible Havock in *Portugal*, and the Venereal Disorders are so civil, that no body troubles his head for a cure. The *Pox*, which is very frequent in the Country, gives so little uneasyness, that the very Physicians who have it, are loth to carry it off, for fear of going to the charge of repeated Cures. The Justices and Peace-Officers are sawcy and unsufferably [207] arrogant, as being authoris'd by a King that observes the Laws with the utmost Severity; for this encourages 'em to pick quarrels with the People, from whom they frequently receive very cruel Reprimands. Some time ago, the *Count de Prado* Son in Law to the *Marshal de Villeroy*, took the pains to send into the other World  
 \* i. e. *An Intendant* an insolent \* *Corrigidor*, that would willingly have dispensed with the Voyage.  
*and Civil Judge.*

While that Gentleman was Riding in Coach with his Cousin, at the corner of a Street he met the *Corrigidor*, who was

Mounted like a St. *George*, and to his Misfortune so proud of his Office, that he did not daign to give the two Gentlemen a Salute. I've acquainted you already that the *Portuguese* Gentlemen are the vainest Men in the World; and upon that score, you will not think it strange that these two Gentlemen alighted from the Coach, and made the *Corrigidor* spring from his Horse and Jump into the other World. A *French Man* will be ready to say that the Intendant's Indiscretion did not deserve such rude usage; but the *Portuguese* Persons of Quality that cover their Heads in the presence of their King, will be of another mind. However, the two Chavalier's took Shelter in the House of the Abbot *d'Estrees*, who sent 'em to *France* in a *Brest* Frigot.

It now remains to give you a List of the King of *Portugal's* Standing Forces. He has eighteen thousand Foot, eight thousand Horse, and twenty two Men of War; namely,

4 Ships from 60 to 70 Guns.

6 Ships from 50 to 60 Guns.

6 Ships from 40 to 50 Guns.

6 Frigats from 30 to 40 Guns.

[208] You must know that the King's Ships are light Timber'd, well Built and handsomely Model'd; their Caulking, Iron Work and Roundings is all very neat. Their Arsenals and Naval Stores are in great disorder, and good Sailors are as scarce in *Portugal* as good Sea Officers, for the Government has neglected the Forming of Marine Nurseries and Navigation Schools, and a thousand other necessary things; the discussion of which would lead me too far out of

my way. The *Portuguese* are charg'd with being somewhat dull and slow in Working their Ships, and less brave by Sea than by Land.

The Captains of the King's Ships have commonly twenty two *Patacas* a Month; and a free Table while they are at Sea; besides some Perquisites.

A Lieutenant's Pay is sixteen *Patacas* a Month.

An Ensign of Marines has ten *Patacas* a Month.

An Able Sailor has four *Patacas* a Month.

A Captain of a Company of Foot has about five and twenty *Patacas* a Month, in Pay and Perquisites both in Peace and War.

The *Alufieres*, who are a sort of Lieutenants, have eight *Patacas*.

A Common Soldier's Pay is about two pence half-penny a day of our Money.

A Captain of Horse has in Pay and Perquisites, in time of Peace, about a hundred *Pataca's* a Month.

A Lieutenant of Horse has near thirty *Pataca's* a Month.

A Quartermaster fifteen *Pataca's* a Month.

A Trooper four *Sous* a day, and his Forrage.

As for the General Land and Sea Officers, 'tis hard to tell exactly what their Incomes amount to: For the King grants Pensions to some, and Commandries to others, as he sees occasion. The [209] Collonels, Lieutenant-Collonels and Majors of Foot, as well as the Maîtres de Camp and the Commisfarys, have no fix'd Allowance: For some have more and some

less, in proportion to the advantage of the Place where their Troops are Quarter'd, and the number of their Men.

The *Portuguese* Troops are ill Disciplin'd. Neither Horse nor Foot are Cloath'd after the same manner; for some have a Brown Livery, some Red, some Black, some Blew, some Green, &c. Their Arms are very good; and the Officers do not mind their brightness, provided they are in a good Condition. One would scarce believe that these are the Troops that did such mighty Feats against the *Spaniards* in the last Wars. In all appearance they were better Disciplin'd in those days than they are now, and were not so much taken up with their *Guitars*.

To shew you the Species and Value of the Mony that's Current in this Country:

A *Spanish Piaſtre* or piece of Eight, which the *Portuguese* call a *Pataca*, is worth a *French* Crown; and contains 750 *Reys*.

The half pieces and quarter pieces are of a proportionable Value.

A *Rey* is a *Denier*, as I intimated above.

The lowest Silver Coin they have is a *Vintaine* or twenty penny piece, being 20 *Reys*.

A *Testoon* is worth 5 *Vintaines*.

A *Demi-Testoon* goes in a half proportion.

An old *Cruzada* is near 4 *Testoons*.

The *Mæda d' ouro*, a Gold Coin, is worth 6 *Pataca's* and 3 *Testoons*.

The half and quarter *Mæda's* have a proportionable Value.

A *Lowis d'or*, whether Old or New, goes for four *Piaftres* wanting two *Tefloons*.

[210] The half and quarter *Piftoles* go upon the fame proportion.

A *Spanish Piftole*, full Weight, goes at the fame rate for 4 *Piaftres*, wanting two *Tefloons*; fo that there's Mony got by fending 'em to *Spain*, where they're worth 4 *Piaftres* neat.

No Species of Mony bears the King of *Portugal*'s Effigies; and there's no diftinction made in *Portugal*, between the *Seville Piaftres* and thofe of *Mexico*, or of *Peru*, as they do elfewhere.

No *French* Coin paffes in this Country, excepting Crowns, half Crowns and quarter Crowns.

The *Portuguese* 128 pound is equal to the *Paris* 100 Weight. Their *Calido* is a Meafure that exceeds the *Paris* half Ell by three inches and a line; fo that its juft extent is two *French* foot, one inch and one line. Their *Bara* is another Meafure, fix of which makes ten *Calido's*. The *Portuguese* League is 4200 Geometrical Paces, allowing five Foot to every Pace.

As for the Intereft of the *Portuguese* Court, I wave it on purpofe becaufe I have no mind to enter into Politicks. Befides, I have already acquainted you that I pretend to Write nothing elfe but fuch trifles as have not been yet took notice of in Print. If it were not that I had laid my felf under that Reftriction, I could fend you a circumftantial account of their different Tribunals or Courts of Juftice, and fome Scraps of their Laws: I could give you to underftand that the Parliamēt and Arch-Bifhoprick of *Lifbon*, make one of the greateft Ornaments of this *Metropolis*; that the Ecclefiaftical Benefices

are extream large ; that there are no Commendatory Abbeyes in the Country, that the Friars are neither so well indow'd nor so well entertain'd as one might expect. I could inform you that the King's Royal Order is call'd *L'habito de Cristo*, If [211] Madam *d' Aunoy* had not taught you so much in Describing the admirable Institution of that Order ; and therefore shall content my self in adding that the number of the Knights Companions of this Order runs far beyond that of its Commandries, which are worth very little. Here I must make a halt and take leave of this Royal City, which 'tis possible I may see once more hereafter. I set out immediately for the Northern Kingdoms of *Europe* ; waiting patiently till it pleases God that Monsieur *Ponchartrain* should either remove to Paradise, or do Justice to him who shall always be yours more than his own.

*Your Humble, &c.*

## LETTER II.

Dated at *Travemunde*, 1694.

Containing an Account of the Author's Voyage from *Lisbon* to *Garnsey*; his Adventure with an *English* Man of War and a Privateer: A Description of *Rotterdam* and *Amsterdam*; the Author's Voyage to *Hamburg*; the Dimensions of a *Flemish* Sloop; a Description of the City of *Hamburg*; the Author's Journey from thence to *Lubeck*; and a Description of that City.

**I** SET out from *Lisbon* on the 4<sup>th</sup> of *April*, having bargain'd with a Master of a Ship to Land me at *Amsterdam* for thirty *Piaftres*. At the [212] same time, I had the precaution of taking a Pass from the *Dutch* Resident, for fear of being stop'd in that Country. I went in a Boat to a place call'd *Belin*, which lies about two Leagues below *Lisbon*. At this little Town all the Merchant Ships that go and come, are oblig'd to shew their Cockets, *Invoice*, and Bills of Lading, and to pay the Duty for their Cargo. The 6<sup>th</sup> we got out of the *Taio*, and follow'd the Rake of a Fleet Bound for the *Baltick* Sea, and Convoy'd by a *Swedish* Man of War of 60 Guns, Commanded by a *Lubecker* whose Name was *Crenger*; and whom the King of *Sweden* had prefer'd to a Noble Dignity, notwithstanding that Originally he had been a Common

Sailor. We cross'd the *Barr* by the way of the Great Channel or Pass, between Fort *Bougio*, and the *Cachopas*; the last being a great Bank of Sand and Rocks, extending to three quarters of a League in length, and half a League in breadth, which Ships are apt to fall foul of in a Calm, by reason of the Tides that bear that way. You must know that if we had had Pilots that knew the Coast, we would have pass'd between that Bank and the Fort of St. *Julian*, which lies to the North or the *Lisbon* side, opposite to *Bougio*; but we had no occasion to employ 'em, since our *Portuguese* Captain took the opportunity of following the run of the *Baltick* Fleet. As soon as we came into the Main, and fell into the middle of that North Country Fleet, the Brutish *Commodore* made down upon us with all Sails aloft, and fir'd a Cannon with Ball in Head of our Ship; after which he sent out his Lieutenant to acquaint our poor Master, that it behov'd him to pay two *Pistoles* immediately for the Shot, and to Sheer off from his Fleet, unless he had a mind to pay a hundred *Piaftres* for his Convoy, which the Master of our Vessel refus'd very Gracefully.

[213] But to drop this Subject; I must acquaint you that the *Barr* of *Lisbon* is inaccessible while the Wind blows hard from the West and South-West; which commonly happens in Winter. Add to this, that for eight Months of the Year the North and North-East Winds prevail, and that moderately: By which means it came about, that our Passage from the Mouth of the *Taio* to Cape *Finisferre* was longer than an ordinary Voyage from the Isle of *Newfound-Land* to *France*. I never saw such constant Winds as these; however we got



clear of 'em, by Traversing and Sweeping along the Coast, which our *Portuguese* Captain durst not leave for fear of the Sally-Rovers, whom they dread more than Hell it self. At last, after 18 or 20 days Sailing, we Weather'd Cape *Finisterre*; and then the Wind Veering to the South-Weſt, we made ſuch way that in ten or twelve days we came in fight of the Isle of *Guernſey*. I muſt ſay, that if it had not been for a *French* Pilot that conn'd the Ship, we had frequently fallen Foul on the Coast of the *British* Channel: For you muſt know, the *Portuguese* have but little acquaintance with the Northern Seas, and the Lands that jut out into 'em; and for that reaſon are oblig'd to make uſe of Foreign Pilots when they are Bound for *England* or *Holland*. The ſame day that we deſcry'd *Guernſey*, two great *English* Ships gave us Chafe with full Sail, and in three or four hours came up with us: One of 'em was a King's Ship of ſixty Guns; and the other was a Privateer of forty Guns, Commanded by one *Cowper*, who was naturally very well calculated for a Pickpocket, as you'll ſee in the Sequel. As ſoon as they came up with us, we were forc'd to Strike and put out our Long Boat, into which I went in order to ſhew the Captain, whoſe name was *Townſend*, the Paſſ I had receiv'd from the [214] *Dutch* Reſident at *Lisbon*. This Captain treated me with all poſſible Civility, in ſo much that he aſſur'd me all my Baggage ſhould be ſecur'd from the Rapine of Captain *Cowper*, who purſuant to the Principles of his profeſſion, pretended to Pillage me with as little Scruple as Mercy. However, our Ship could not be Search'd till we got into *Guernſey* Road, and for that reaſon we were carry'd

thither the same day; and after dropping Anchor the two *English* Captains went a Shoar, and sent two Searchers on Board of us, to try if they could prove that the Wine and Brandy with which our Ship was Fraughted, was of the growth of *France* or Exported by Commission from *French* Merchants; which they could not possibly make out, notwithstanding that they spent fifteen days in searching and rummaging, as I heard afterwards at *Lubec*. This troublesome Accident oblig'd me in five or six days after, to Imbarque in a *Dutch* Frigate of \* *Circzee*; having first presented Captain *Townsend* with some Casks of *Allegrete* Wine, a Chest of Oranges, and some Dishes Carv'd at † *Estremos*; and that in acknowledgment of the kind Usage and good Entertainment that he gave me both a Shoar, and on Board of his Ship.

\* *A Place in Holland.*

† *A Portuguese City that stands almost on the Frontiers towards Extremadura.*

My Second Voyage prov'd more favourable than the former; for in three days Sailing I arriv'd at *Circzee*; at which place I went on Board of a Passage Smack, which steer'd between the Islands, and by vertue of the Winds and Tydes wafted me to *Rotterdam*.

*Rotterdam* is a very large fine City, and a place of very great Trade. Here I had the Pleasure of viewing in two days time, the *Maes* College, the [215] Arsenal for Naval Stores, and the great Tower, which by the industry of a Carpenter was Reinstated in its perpendicular Posture, at a time when it bended and shelv'd in such a monstrous manner, as to threaten the City with the Load of its Ruines. I had likewise the Satis-

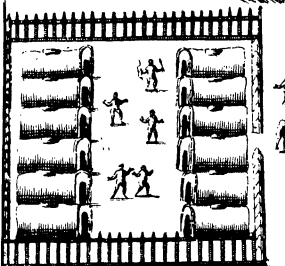
façtion of seeing the Houfe of the Famous *Erafmus*, as well as the Beauty of the Port or the *Maes*, the Mouth of which is very dangerous, by reafon of fome Shelves and Banks of Sand that fhoot out a pretty way into the Sea. The Trade of *Rotterdam* is very confiderable, and the Merchants of that place enjoy the conveniency of bringing their Ships up to the Doors of their Ware-Houfes, by the help of the Canals or Ditches, that interfeñt this great City. Two days after my Arrival, I Imbarqu'd at five a Clock in the Morning in a Travelling Boat or *Traët Scuyt* for *Amfterdam*. This fort of Boats is cover'd with Ribs, being flat, long and broad; and has a Bench or Form on each fide, that reaches from the Prow to the Poop. In this Conveniency, which one Horfe will draw, we travel a League an hour, for three *Sous* and a half *per* League. In all the Principal Cities of *Holland* the *Scuyts* fet out every hour, whether full or empty: But you muft know that you frequently fhift Boats, and for that end muft walk on foot thro' feveral Cities. In this fmall Voyage I walk'd thro' *Delft*, *Leyden* and *Harlem*, which appear'd to be large, neat and fine Cities. After I had Travel'd in thefe Boats twelve Leagues upon Ditches lin'd with Trees, Meads, Gardens, and moft pleafant Houfes, I arriv'd at *Amfterdam* in the Evening.

When I came to my Inn, my Landlord order'd me a Guide, who in feven or eight days time fhew'd me all the Curiofities of this Flourifhing City; but I could have done it in three [216] or four days, if the City had afforded the Conveniency of Hackney-Coaches, fuch as they have at *Paris* and

other Places. The City is large, neat and fine; most of its Canals or *Graafs* are deck'd with very pretty Houses: But the Water Stagnating in these large Cisterns smells very strong in Hot Weather. The Edifices are for the most part Uniform, and the Streets are drawn as if 'twere by a Line. The *Guild-Hall* or *Stadt-House* stands upon Wooden Piles or Stakes; tho' that vast Mass of Stone is extream heavy. This Noble Edifice is enrich'd with several fine Pieces of Sculpture and Painting, and adorn'd with rich Tapestry. Here you may see the finest Marble, Jasper and Porphyry that can be: But this is nothing in Comparifon with the Mouldy Crowns that are hoarded up under the Vaults of this monstrous Edifice. The Admiralty-House is likewise very fine, as well as the Arsenal. The Port which is little less than a large quarter of a League in Front, was covered all over with Ships, in so much that one might easily Jump from one to another.

In this City I saw some neat Churches, not to speak of a Synagogue of the true Jews, who out of regard to their Antiquity are allow'd the publick Exercise of their Venerable Religion. The *Roman Catholics*, *Lutherans*, &c. are tolerated to Worship God in their way, without laying the Doors of their Meeting-Houses open, or ringing Bells or Chimes. I was likewise entertain'd with a Sight of the Houses for Widows and Orphans, and their Bridewells whether for the Punishment of Rogues, or Female Sinners, who are forc'd to Work very hard to expiate their Peccadillo's. The Exchange is a piece of Architecture, large enough to contain eight thousand Men: But the Stateliest thing I saw was [217] ten

or twelve *Mufick-Houfes*, fo call'd from certain Mufical Inſtruments forrily Scrap'd upon, by the Sound of which a Gang of naſty Punks inſnare ſuch as have the courage to look upon 'em without Spitting in their Faces. This gracious Tribe aſſembles in the *Seraglio* as ſoon as Night approaches. In ſome of theſe *Mufick-Houfes* you are entertain'd with the Sound of an *Organ*; in others with a *Harpſicord* or ſome other lame Inſtrument. You enter into a large Room where the frightful Veſtal Ladies fit, rigg'd with all forts of Colours and Stuffs, by the kind aſſiſtance of the Jews who let out the Head-Dreſſes and Suits of Cloaths, that have been kept for that uſe, from Father to Son, ever ſince the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*. In theſe *Seraglio's* every body's Welcome for the Spending of ten or twelve *Stivers*, which he muſt lay down at his firſt entry, for a Glaſs of Wine that's enough to Poiſon an Elephant. Here you'll ſee a Swinging Raw-Bon'd Sailor pop in with his Pipe in his Jaws, his Hair all glittering with Sweat, and his Tar Breeches Glew'd to his Thighs; in which Pickle he makes SS's till he falls flat at his Miſtriſſes Feet. Next comes a Foot-Man half Muddled, that Sings and Dances, and Swills down Brandy to make himſelf Sober. After him the Stage is Trod by a Soldier that Swaggers and Storms, and makes the whole Palace tremble; or elſe by a Company of Adventurers muffled up in their Cloaks, who come to play the Devil with three or four Rogues, and get themſelves knock'd on the Head by fifty that out-do Aſſes in Brutifhneſs. In fine, Sir, the whole *Chorus* is a Collection of naſty Miſcreants, who in ſpite of the unſufferable Funk of



Savage Villages

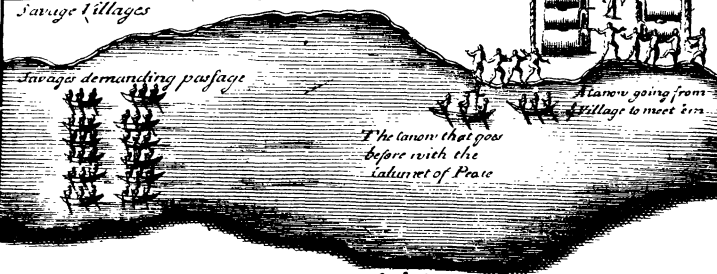


Savages staying at the gate of the Village for him that brings the Calumet

As a savage carrying the Calumet of peace and dancing



Strangers



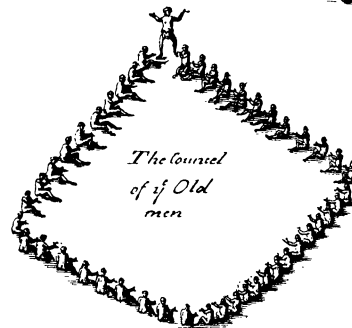
Savages demanding passage

The canoe that goes before with the Calumet of Peace

Canoe going from Village to meet 'em



The Calumet dance.



The Council of the Old men



The dance of War



Tobacco and Smell of nafty Feet, continue in that Common Shore of Ordure and Nufance till two a Clock in the Morning, without ever difobliging their Stomachs. [218] This Sir, is the whole of what I know in the matter.

As I pafs'd thro' this famous City, I met with fome *French* Merchants of the *Catholick Religion*, the moft confiderable of which are the Sieurs *d' Moracin*, and *d' Arreche*; both *Bayonne* Men, and perfons of Merit and Probity, who have already purchas'd a great Eftate, and a very reputable Character. I was inform'd that there were a great many *French* Refugees in this City, who have fet up Manufactures that enrich'd fome and ruin'd others. This is to me a convincing Proof that the Refugee Trade has been favourable to fome and fatal to others; nay, 'tis really true, that fome Refugees who brought Mony into *Holland* are now in want, and others who had not a Groat in *France*, are become *Craſus's* in that Republick.

There's no Country in the World in which good Inns are fo chargeable, as they are in *Holland*. There you muſt pay for Bed and Fire, in proportion to your Meals, which coſt you half a *Ducatoon*, or two and nine pence a time: So that a Gentleman and his Servant muſt lie at the Charge of eight *French Livres* a day, for Supper, Dinner, Bed and Fire.

As for the *Dutch* Mony, the Value of it is as follows.

A *Ducatoon* is worth three *Guelders*, three *Stuivers*.

A *Rix Dollar* paſſes for fifty *Stuivers*.

A *Crown* for 40 *Stuivers*.

A *Dollar* for 30 *Stuivers*.

An eight and twenty *Stuck* or Piece, 28 *Stuivers*.



A *Guelder* piece 20 *Stuivers*.

A Stamp'd *Schelling* 6 *Stuivers*.

An Unstamp'd *Schelling*, 5 *Stuivers* 4 *Doits*.

[219] A *Dubbelkie* 2 *Stuivers*.

A *Stuiver* 8 *Doits*; which makes a *French Sol* and a *Liard*; for five *French Sous* make but four *Dutch Stuivers*; and a *French Crown* of 60 *Sous* value is no more than 48 *Stuivers*.

A Gold *Ducat* is worth 5 *Guelders* 5 *Stuivers*.

A *Lowis D'or* paffes for 9 *Guelders* 9 *Stuivers*.

As for the Meafures of *Holland*, I can tell you with reference to fome, that a League is near 3800 Geometrical Paces.

An Ell is a *French Foot* ten Inches and a Line.

A Pound is equal to our *Paris* Pound.

A Pint holds much the fame quantity of Liquor with a *Paris Chopine*.

This is all the account I can give you of *Holland*.

When I fet out from *Amsterdam* to *Hamburg*, I chofe the eafyest and cheapeft way of Travelling, (I mean by Water.) I had resolv'd indeed to Travel by Post Waggon or Coaches; but that refolution was prefently drop'd, when I was advis'd that in Travelling by Land, I might run the rifque of being ftop'd in the Territories of fome of the *German* Princes, who require Paffports of all Travellers. This wholefome Advice spar'd both my Corps and my Purfe: For to have gone Post, it would have coft me for my felf and my Servant fourty Crowns, whereas it coft me but five by Water. There goes two *Dutch* Sloops from *Amsterdam* to *Hamburg* every Week, on purpofe to carry Paffengers, who may hire little feparate

Cabins, such being made in the Ship for the Accommodation of those who have a mind to be private. These Sloops would be admirably well Calculated for Sailing up the South side of the River of St. *Laurence*, from its Mouth to *Quebec*; and above all, from *Quebec* to *Monreal*. They are preferable to our Barques for that Service; [220] which I'll make out by five or six Reasons. In the first place, they do not draw half so much Water as our Barks of the same Burden. In the next place, they'll tack to the four Quarters of the Wind; they require less Rigging and a smaller compliment of Hands than our Barques, and are Work'd with less Charge; they'll turn their Head where their Stern was before in the twinkling of an Eye, whereas our Barques can't get about under five or six Minutes, and sometimes will not tack at all; they may rub upon Sand or Gravel without danger, as being Built of half flat Ribs, whereas our Barks being round, would split in pieces upon the least touch. Such, Sir, are the Advantages of these *Flemish* Vessels beyond ours; and so you may safely Write to the *Rochel* Merchants who Trade to *Canada*, that they would find 'em very serviceable in that Country: At the same time, you may oblige 'em with the following dimensions of that sort of Shipping, which I took from the Vessel I was on Board of, that was one of the least Size. It was forty two Foot long from the Stern-post to the Head; the Hold was about eight Foot broad and about five Foot deep: The Cabin in the Fore-Castle was six Foot long, and had a Chimney with a Funnel and Vent at the bottom of the Cape-Stane. The Cabin Aft was of the same length, and its Deck was

rais'd three Foot higher than the Fore-Castle. The Helm of the frightful Rudder run along the Roof of the laft Cabin. The Ribs of this little Veffel, were, in good earneft, as flat as the Boats in the *Seine*. The Side was about a Foot and a half high; the Maft was 16 Inches diameter, and 30 Foot high; the Sail refembled a Rectangle Triangle in its Form. The Veffel was provided with lee-boards, or a fort of Wings which the Carpenters [221] know very well how to ufe. In fine, to inform your felf more particularly of the matter, you may Write to *Holland* for a Model of that fort of Shipping in Wood; for a *French* Carpenter will never make any thing of the beft Verbal Defcription I can give. The cafe is the fame as with fome *Mathematical* Instruments, of which the acuteft men can never form a juft Idea without feeing 'em.

In Sailing from *Amfterdam* to *Hamburg*, we Steer thro' the *Wat*, that is, between the Continent and a ftring of Iflands that lye about two or three hours off the *Terra Firma*; and round which the Tide ebbs and flows, as in other places. Between the Continent and thefe Iflands there are certain Channels, which are deeper than the other places on the right and left, for thefe are dry every Tide. Thefe Channels are eafily diftinguifh'd by the help of fome Buoys and Mafts Planted upon the Flats. At half Flood you may weigh Anchor and Steer along the Channels, which make ftrange Windings and Elbows; and if the Wind be contrary, you may eafily Board along by the help of the Current, till it is low Water, at which time you run a Ground upon the Sand, and are left quite dry. I faw above three hundred of thefe

*Flemish* Veffels during the courfe of this Navigation, which I take to be as fafe as that of a River, abating for ten Leagues Sailing when we crofs over from the laft Island to the Mouth of the *Elbe*. The Tide rifes three Fathom perpendicular from the Mouth of this River to *Aurenbourg*, which lies ten or twelve Leagues above *Hamburg*; fo that great Ships and Men of War may eafily Sail up to *Hamburg*.

The Paffage from *Amfterdam* to *Hamburg* is commonly accomplifh'd in feven or eight days; for in thofe Seas the Wefterly Winds prevail for [222] three Quarters of the Year. But we were not above fix days in our Paffage, notwithstanding that the Mafter of our Ship was oblig'd to lofe a Tide in producing his Invoys and Bills of Lading at the Town of *Stade*, which lies a League off the *Elbe*, and where all Ships are oblig'd to pay Toll to the King of *Sweden*, excepting the *Danes*, who might have an equal Right to claim fuch a Toll, if they made ufe of the opportunity of Commanding the Paffage of this River with the Cannon of *Gluckſtat*.

The *Elbe* is a large League over at its Mouth, and at Spring-Tides it has Water enough in the Channel for Ships of fifty or fixty Guns. The Entry of the River is very difficult and dangerous, by reafon of an infinity of moving Sands, which render it almoſt inaccessible in a Fogg, as well as in the Night time; notwithstanding the precaution of Light Houfes Built pretty far out at Sea.

*Hamburg* is a large City, Fortified irregularly with Ramparts of Earth. I paſs over in Silence the Democratical Government of this *Hans* Town and its Dependancies, pre-

suming you are not ignorant of such things, since the *Geographers* have given ample Descriptions of 'em: And shall content my self with informing you that the Trade of *Hamburg* makes it a considerable place; and considering the advantage of its Situation, one might readily guess so much. It supplies almost all *Germany* with all sorts of Foreign Commodities, by the conveniency of the *Elbe*, which carries flat bottom'd Vessels of two hundred Tun above *Dresden*: And one may justly say that this City is very Serviceable to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, in regard that these Vessels go up to the *Aspree*, and some other Rivers in his Territories. The *Hamburg* Merchants Trade to all parts of the [223] World, bateing *America*. They send but few Ships to the *East-Indies*, or the upper end of the *Mediterranean*; but they fit out an infinity of Ships for *Africa*, *Muscovy*, *Spain*, *France*, *Portugal*, *Holland* and *England*; and two Fleets every Year for *Archangel*, where they arrive at the latter end of *June*, and the latter end of *September*.

This little Republick keeps four Men of War of fifty Guns, and some light Frigats that serve for Convoys to their Merchantmen, Bound for the *Streights*, or for the Coast of *Portugal* or *Spain*; where the Sally-Rovers would be sure to pick 'em up if they went without Convoys. The City is neither pretty nor ugly; but most of the Streets are so narrow, that the Coaches must stop or put back every foot. It affords good Diverfion enough; for commonly you have Plays Acted by *French* or *Italian* Actors, and a *German* Opera; which for *House*, *Theatre* and *Scenes*, may vye with the best

in *Europe*. 'Tis true, the Habits of the Actours are as irregular as their Air and Meen; but then you must consider that these two Suit one another. The Neighbourhood of *Hamburg* is truly very pretty in the Summer time, by reason of an infinity of Country Houses, adorn'd with excellent Gardens, and great numbers of Fruit-Trees, which by the assistance of Art produce pretty good Fruit. But now that I am speaking of the Country round *Hamburg*, I can't dismiss the Subject without acquainting you with one thing that is uncommon. In the Neighbourhood of *Hamburg* there are Fields of Battel, retaining to the Territories of *Denmark* and *Lubeck*; in which private Quarrels are adjusted before an infinite number of Spectators, notice being given by the Sound of a Trumpet some days before the Champions enter the Lifts. One remarkable Circumstance [224] is, that the Combatants, whether on Foot or on Horse-Back, implore the Mediation of two Seconds, only in order to be Judges of the thrusts, and to part 'em when four drops of Blood are spilt; so that the Adventurers retire upon the least scratch. If one of 'em falls upon the Ground, the Conqueror returns to the Territories of *Hamburg*, and makes a Triumphal Procession to that City, while the Air rings with acclamations of Joy from the Spectators. These Tragedies are not unfrequent; for *Hamburg* being resorted to by an infinite number of Foreigners and Strangers, some disorder or other always happens, which is redress'd that way. In former times, the *Danes*, *Swedes* and *Germans*, us'd to repair to the above mention'd Fields to adjust the Quarrels they had in their own Countries,

where Duelling was prohibited under severe Penalties. But the Sovereigns of those Countries have since Stifled such Practices, by declaring that upon their return they should be as severely punish'd, as if the Action had been in their own Territories.

After staying five or six days at *Hamburg*, I took leave of that City and set out for *Lubec* in a Post Waggon, that goes thither every day. Each place in the Coach is a Crown and a half. We arriv'd that same day at *Lubec*, and when we came to the Gates, were ask'd who we were; upon which every one gave a true account of their Country and Profession; but the fear of being stop'd dissuaded me from being so sincere. To be free with you, Sir, I plaid the Jesuit a little; for having guarded my Conscience with a good meaning, I roundly told 'em I was a *Portuguese* Merchant, and so got clear by suffering the affront of being hooted at for a *Jew*. In fine, we were all suffer'd to pass without opening our Portmanteau's.

[225] The City of *Lubec* is neither so great nor so populous as *Hamburg*; but its Streets are broader and straighter, and its Houses are much finer. The Ships that arrive in this Port are rang'd all in a row, upon a very pretty Key that extends from one end of the Town to the other; and that in a River, that in my Opinion is deeper than 'tis broad. The greatest Commerce of this Place retains to the *Baltick* Sea, which is not above two Leagues distant. The place from whence I now Write, is Seated exactly at the Mouth of this little River; which your great Ships can't enter, by reason of a *Bar* that has not above fourteen or fifteen Foot Water;

even when the Wind Springing from the Main swells this River after the same manner as the Tides of the Ocean. To morrow I think to Imbarque in a Frigate that carries Passengers from hence to *Copenhagen*, provided the Southerly Winds continue. I have taken the great Cabin for two *Ducatoons*, which is not above four *French* Crowns. *Ducats* are the most current and convenient Coin in all the Northern Countries; for they pass in *Holland*, *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and in all the Principalities of *Germany*: But a Traveller must take care that they are full Weight, for otherwise the People will scruple to take 'em, or at least cut off some *Sous* in the Change.

To conclude; I have met with good Inns hitherto in all the Towns I pass'd thro'; and drank good *Bordeaux* Wine both in *Hamburg* and *Lubec*. The People of the Country drink likewise *Rhenish* and *Moselle* Wines; but to my mind they are better to Boil Carp in than for any thing else. Adieu, Sir, I am now call'd upon to pack up my Baggage: I hope to see *Copenhagen* the day after to morrow, if so be that this Southerly Wind stands our Friend, as much as I am,

*Sir, Yours, &c.*



## [226] LETTER III.

*Dated at Copenhagen, Sep. 12 1694.*

*Containing a Description of the Port and City of Copenhagen, a View of the Danish Court ; and of the Humours, Customs, Commerce, Forces, &c. of the Danes.*

SIR,

THE South-East Wind that blew when I Wrote laſt, waſted me into the Port of this good City of *Copenhagen*; after which it took leave of us, and purſued its courſe to the Northern Countries of *Sweden*, where its thawing influence had been expected for ſome days. This little Voyage, which was over in eight and forty hours, afforded me diverſion enough; for I had the pleaſure of viewing to the Lar Board, or on the left hand, ſome *Daniſh* Iſles, which ſeem'd to be pretty Populous, if we may judge of that from the great number of Villages that I deſcry'd upon 'em, when we Sweep'd along their Coaſt in clear Weather with a freſh Gale. I take it, the croſſing of this Sea muſt be ſomewhat dangerous in Winter, by reaſon of the Banks of Sand that are met with in ſome places: For the Nights being long, and the Winds high in that Season, no Precaution whatſoever would rid me of the fears of running upon the Sands, till I arriv'd at this City.

As soon as I set my foot on Shoar, the Waiters came and view'd my Portmanteau's, in which they found more Sheets of Paper than Pistoles. [227] The next day after my Arrival, I waited upon Monsieur *de Bonrepaux*, who was then in the Country for the recovery of his Health: And for want of whom the Navy of *France* has sustain'd an irreparable loss.<sup>1</sup> This done, I return'd to this City, which may justly be listed in the number of those that we in *Europe* call great and pretty. 'Tis well and regularly Fortified, and 'tis pity 'tis not Wall'd with Stone, which is likewise a defect in the Cittadel that commands the Mouth of the Harbour. *Copenhagen* has one of the best Harbours in the World, for both Nature and Art have conspir'd to shelter it from all Insults. The City stands upon a smooth level Ground, the Streets are broad, and almost all the Houses are three Story high, and built of Brick. Here you may see three very fine places; and amongst the rest, the King's Market, so call'd from his Statue on Horse-Back, which is there erected. This Place is surrounded with some fine Houses, and Monsieur *de Bonrepaux* Lodges in one of 'em, which is very large; and indeed that Ambassadour has occasion for so great a House, considering the numerousness of his Retinue. The Magnificence of his Table is suitable

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<sup>1</sup> Like Lahontan, François Dusson, Sieur de Bonrepaux, was of Gascon birth. By sheer ability he had raised himself from a humble position in the office of the marine to be chief of the French naval squadron. He was also a diplomatist of ability, and had been sent on important missions to England (1685-87); from 1693-97 he was French ambassador to Holland. As a patron of letters, he became interested in Lahontan, and endeavored to reestablish his credit at the French court. See Macaulay's brilliant characterization, in his *History of England*. — Ed.

to the Grandeur of his Equipage: And every body pays him the honours and esteem that his Character merits. But I'll insist no longer upon that Head.

The City of *Copenhagen* is very advantageously Seated, as you may see in the Map of the Isle of *Zealand*; and lies very conveniently for Merchantmen which come without any difficulty up to the Canals or Ditches that are cut thro' it. It contains very fine Edifices; particularly the Churches of *Notredame* and *St. Nicholas*, which are both great and fine. The round Tower passes for an admirable piece of Architecture, and has [228] a Stair-Case upon which a Coach may drive up to the top. The Library which stands in the middle of the round Tower is well Stock'd with Books and valuable Manuscripts. The Exchange is an admirable Fabrick, in regard both to its length, and its Situation in the pleasantest part of the Town. As for the Royal Palace, its Antiquity recommends it as much to me, as if it had been Built after the Modern way: For in the Massy Fabrick of a Castle, 'tis enough if the due Symmetry of Proportion be observ'd. The Furniture and Pictures in this Castle are admirably fine; and the Royal Closet is fill'd with an infinity of very curious Rarities. In the King's Stables there is now but a hundred Coach-Horses, that is, thirteen or fourteen Set of different sorts and sizes; and a hundred and fifty Saddle-Horses: But both the one and the other are equally fine. *Christians-Fawe*, the Second City, is sever'd from *Copenhagen* by a great Canal of running Water. The Royal Palace of *Rozemburg*, which stands at one end of the City, is adorn'd with a charming Garden.

I come now to give you the Characters of the Princes and Princeſſes at the Court of *Denmark*. 'Tis needleſs to take notice of the Valour and Vigilancy of the King, for the two chief Qualities of that Monarch are ſufficiently known to all the World.<sup>1</sup> I ſhall therefore only acquaint you that he is a Perſon of great Judgment and Capacity, and intirely Wrap'd up in the Intereſts of his Subjects, who look upon him as their Father and Deliverer. He has all the Qualities of a good General, and is affable and generous to the laſt degree. He ſpeaks with equal facility, the *Daniſh*, *Swediſh*, *Latin*, *German*, *Engliſh* and *French* Languages. The Queen is the moſt Accompliſh'd Princeſs in the World; and ſo I have [229] ſaid all in all. The Royal Prince is a Son worthy of ſo great a King for his Father, and ſuch a good and vertuous Queen for his Mother; as you have heard it proclaim'd by as many Tongues as there are Heads in *France*. He is a Maſter of Learning, and has a quick Apprehenſion joyn'd to a ſweet Temper. His Manners are as Royal as his Perſon, and all that ſee him wiſh him that Proſperity and Happineſs that his Phyſiognomy promiſes. Prince *Chriſtian* is a ſweet lovely Prince, as well as Prince *Charles* his younger Brother: A certain Air of Affability ſits upon their Foreheads and charms Mankind. Prince *William* the youngeſt Brother is a very pretty Child. Princeſs *Sophia*, who is commonly call'd the Royal Princeſs, has truly a Royal Air: She is Handſome, Young, well Shap'd and Witty as an Angel: Which is enough to entitle her to a Preference before all the Princeſſes upon

<sup>1</sup> For the king of Denmark, ſee p. 3, note 2, *ante*. — ED.

Earth, not to mention a thousand other good qualities, the Relation of which would prove too bulky for a *Missive*. Let's therefore call another Subject.

One may live in this Country for almost nothing, notwithstanding that good Fish is somewhat dear: In the best Ordinaries about Town you pay but fifteen or sixteen *Sous* a Meal. The Butchers Meat of this place is neither so juicy nor so nourishing as that in *France*; but their Poultry, their fresh Water-Fowl, their Hares and their Partridges are exceeding good. The best Claret costs but fifteen *Sous* a Bottle. A Hackney-Coach may be hir'd for a Crown a day, and sixty *Livres* a Month. The Water of this place is muddy and heavy, and for that reason we have recourse to the Beer, which is clear and wholesome, and very cheap. The *French* Refugees in *Copenhagen* are allow'd the free exercise of their Religion, under the direction of Monsieur [230] *de la Placette* a Minister of *Bearn*, who has a very good Pension from the Queen, for Preaching in a publick Church, of which her Self is Protectress.

Commonly the King passes the Summer at his Country Seats, sometimes at *Yegresburg*, sometimes at *Fredericsburg*, and sometimes at *Cronenburg*. There's scarce any Prince in the World that has better Accommodation for Deer-Hunting, than the King of *Denmark*: For all his Parks are full of broad Roads for pursuing the Chace; besides that, the *Danish* Horse have a long stretch of a Gallop, which is very convenient for Hunters; and the Dogs of that Country are scarce ever faulty. The King's Table is as nobly Served up, as you

can well imagine: So that when he returns from Hunting he finds a fresh Pleasure in feeding on Angelical Fare. He is frequently employ'd in reviewing his Troops, and visiting his Forts, Magazines and Arsenals; and sometimes he goes a Fowling with his Courtiers. About two Months ago I saw him Shoot about a quarter of a League out of Town: Upon which occasion a Wood Fowl as big as a Cock was plac'd upon the top of a Mast, and the King Shot at it first and took away a piece of its Neck with his Ball; after which his Courtiers Shot so dexterously that there was nothing left but a little bit of the Fowl, which the King hit at last, after a great many Sports-Men had attempted it in vain.

Most of the People in this place understand *French*; and perhaps the Gentlemen of the Royal Academy are not better Skill'd in the Purity and Delicacy of that Language, than the Countess *de Friz*; who by her Wit, Birth and Beauty is justly accounted the Pearl and Ornament of the Court. The *Danes* are a proper sort of People; they are civil, honourable, brave and active. They have somewhat that's very engaging [231] in their Carriage, and bears an Air of affability and complaisance. I take 'em to be a sensible thinking sort of People, and free of that unsufferable affectation and vanity that gives a disrelish to the Actions of other Nations: At least 'tis apparent that a disengag'd genteel Air shines thro' all their Actions. The *Danish* Ladies are very handsome and lively; generally they are very witty and brisk, and a sparkling gayety hangs very agreeably about 'em, notwithstanding that the nature of their Climate do's not promise it. The *Danish*

Men complain that they are too haughty and nice in their *Conduſt*; and indeed they have reaſon to charge 'em with a ſcrupulous nicety; but as for their Pride I know nothing of it. They receive almoſt no viſits, and 'tis alleg'd that the reaſon of this reſerv'dneſs proceeds not ſo much from the deſign of avoiding the occaſion of Temptation, as from the fear of being Scandalis'd; for Slander reigns in this Country as much as elſewhere. In fine, they have more Vertue and Wiſdom than they ſhould have, in bearing the Sighs of Lovers without being mov'd. One may ſee 'em often enough at the Houſe of Mr. *de Guldenlew*, the King's natural Brother and Viceroy of *Norway*. That Gentleman, who indeed is one of the Stateliſt Men in *Europe*, takes pleaſure in keeping a Table every day for eighteen perſons, and regaling the Ladies and Perſons of Quality. After Dinner the Gentlemen make Matches to Game or Walk out with the Ladies. The ſame Entertainment, and the ſame ſort of Company is to be met with at the Count *de Revenclaw*'s, who is look'd upon as one of the moſt Zealous and Capable Miniſters that the King has. Theſe Dinners or Entertainments are ſomewhat too long for me, who am accuſtom'd to Dine Poſt, I mean, to fill my Belly in five or ſix [232] Minutes; for commonly they laſt above two hours. The excellent Meſſes which are then Serv'd up in great plenty, Feaſt at once the taſte, the ſight and the ſmell. For; in fine, there's no difference between thoſe Tables and the beſt about the *French* Court, unleſs it be that the former have great pieces of Salt Beef ſet upon 'em; and I truly think the *Danes* would be Guilty of an indiſcreet Action in eating of

it so heartily, if they did not take care to wash the Salt out of their Throat with good Liquor.

Among the different sorts of Wine that are commonly drank at *Copenhagen*, the *Cabers* and the *Pontac* are the only Wines that suit a *French Man's* Palate. It seems to be an inviolable Custom in all the Northern Countries, to swallow down two or three good Draughts of Beer, before they turn to Wine, which they value too much to spoil it with Water. I am told that in former times they us'd to sit four or five hours at Meals, and drink briskly all the while, in spite of the threats of the Gout. But now a days that custom is in disuse; besides, the Glasses are so small and the number of the Healths so moderate, that they rise from Table in very good order: Not but that sometimes upon extraordinary Solemnities, the Guests lie under an indispensable Obligation to drink huge Bumpers in certain *Wellcomes*; which in ancient times were in use among the *Grecians* under the name of ἀγαθὸν δαίμονος. I tremble when I call to mind these Bumpers, ever since a fatal accident befell me about two Months ago in Mr. *de Guldenlew's* House: That Gentleman regal'd some eighteen or twenty Persons of both Sexes, in Solemnising the Birth of his Children; and Fate would have it so that I had the honour to be one of the Male Guests, who were all oblig'd, excepting Mr. *de Bonrepos*, to drink two dozen of Bumpers to the Health of the present and absent [233] Children. I protest, I was very much out of Countenance, and would have almost chose to drink up the River of St. *Laurence*, rather than these Fountains of Wine; for there was no possibility of baulking a Glass. 'Twas then



too late to reflect upon the strange Posture I was in ; for as the Proverb goes, the Wine was drawn, and I was oblig'd to drink it ; I mean, I was oblig'd to do as the rest did. However, towards the conclusion of Dinner they put round a great *Wellcome* that held two Bottles; and all the Gentlemen were oblig'd to drink it brim-ful, as a Health to the Royal Family ; God knows, the despairing Mariner never trembled more gracefully upon the dismal Prospect of a Ship-Wrack, than I did upon the approach of the Bumper. In fine, I confess to you, I drank it, but for the latter part of the Story I beg your Pardon ; for I have no mind to glory in the Heroick Action that I did in imitation of three or four more, who discharg'd their Conscience just under the Table as gracefully as I. After that fatal blow, I was so mortified that I durst not appear ; nay, I had a strong fancy to leave the Country out of hand, and would certainly have done it, if my Pot Companions and those who shar'd the disgrace, had not dissuaded me by an infinity of *German* Proverbs that seem'd to applaud the generous Exploit ; among which the following had the greatest influence, *viz. If we are asham'd in taking too much, we ought to place our Glory in giving it up again.*

The *Danish* Gentry live very handsomely upon their Land-Rents, and the Peasants want for nothing, no more than ours, unless it be for Money. They have a sufficient Stock of Grain and Cattel, which serves to maintain 'em in a gross way, and to pay the Landlord's Rents. Is not it enough that they are well clad and well fed ? [234] I would fain know what advan-

tage the *Dutch* Boors reap from their Crowns, while they feed upon nothing but Cheefe and Butter-spread upon \* *Pompernick*. If their Crowns and Dollars serve only to pay the Taxes of the Republick, they must be very Blind in hugging a Shadow of Liberty, which they purchase at the expence of the Substance that maintains both Life and Health.

\* *Pompernick is a sort of Bread, as black as a Chimney, as heavy as Lead, and as hard as Horn.*

The best thing the *Danes* ever did, was that of setting their Kings upon the same Foot as they now are. The Prince that sways the Scepter at present, exercises an Arbitrary Power with as much Equity as his Predecessor. Before their Government was reduc'd to this happy lay, the Kingdom was overrun with factious Clubs and Civil Wars; the State and Society it self was all in disorder; the *Grandeess* crush'd the inferiour Subjects, and even the Kings themselves were oblig'd to stoop (if I may so speak) to the Laws of their Subjects. In a word, their Eyes being dazzled with that Phantasm of Liberty, which by a treacherous lustre imposes upon several other Nations; they were thereby render'd Slaves to so many petty Kings, who acted like absolute Sovereigns without fearing the limited Power of their Monarchs.

At present, the King of *Denmark's* Revenue amounts to five Millions of Crowns. This I know to be a just and true State of his Treasury: He maintains near thirty thousand Men of regular Troops, in good order, well disciplin'd and well pay'd; besides the Militia who are always ready to March

upon a call. Nay farther, he may raife fourty thoufand Men more, upon occafion, without difpeopling his Country. His [235] Officers are provided for at a reaſonable rate, eſpecially the Marine Officers who are not allotted, (as ours are in *France*,) any greater Pay than what bears a juſt proportion to the poor Captains of Foot and Horſe, who are oblig'd to pinch hard to anſwer the Charges that the Sea Captains are exempted from. 'Tis ſaid, the King of *Denmark* finds his account in letting out his Troops to his Allies, not with regard to the Mony pay'd on that account, but in regard that by this means he keeps his Troops in exerciſe, inures 'em to the hardſhips of War, and makes 'em compleat Maſters of the Military Art; in order to make uſe of 'em upon occaſion. You muſt know, Sir, his *Daniſh* Majeſty is above that ridiculous Scruple that moſt other Princes make to imploy Foreigners or thoſe of another Religion in their Service. The *Meſſieurs de Cormaillon*, *Dumeni*, *L'Abat*, and ſeveral others have conſiderable Poſts in his Army, notwithstanding that they are *French Men* and *Papiſts*. From hence it appears that this Monarch is convinc'd that Men of Honour will rather diſſerve their Religion than aſt counter to the Fidelity due to their Maſter: And to be plain with you, I believe the King is in the right of it: For ſince the Foundation of all Religion conſiſts in the Fidelity we owe to God, to our Friend and to our Benefactor; nothing will be able to unhinge a Man of Honour, or to tempt him to aſt contrary to his Duty. I will not pretend to meaſure the actions of others by my own Standard; but for my own part, I aſſure you if I had liſted my ſelf in the

Service of the *Turks*, with the liberty of continuing Popish; and if Orders were issued forth for laying *Rome* in Ashes, I would be the first Man to set fire to it, in obedience to the *Grand Seignior's* Orders. But we have enough of that.

[236] The *Danish* Laws, contain'd in the *Latin* Book I now send you, will appear to you so clear, so distinct, and so wisely Concerted, that they'll seem to have proceeded from the Mouth of St. *Paul*: You'll find by them that this Country do's not countenance Solicitors, Barristers, and the rest of the litigious Tribe. I own indeed that the Law relating to Man-Slaughter is unreasonable; for you'll find that by the Penalty therein enacted, a Man that kills his Enemy runs much the same risque as if he had suffer'd himself to be kill'd.

The Court of *Denmark* makes as good a Figure in proportion to its Greatness, as any other Court in *Europe*. The Lords and Courtiers have very magnificent Equipages; and which is singular, none but those of the Royal Family are allow'd to give a Red Livery. The time of appearing at Court is from Noon to half an hour after one, or thereabouts; during which time the King appears in a Hall fill'd with very fine Gentlemen. Here you'll see nothing but Imbroidered and Lace after the newest Fashion. The Foreign Ministers make their appearance at the same time, for the King do's 'em the honour of hearing them Talk with a great deal of Pleasure. There are but few Knights of the Order of the *Elephant* to be seen at Court, by reason that the Dignity is bestow'd only upon Persons of the first Rank. This Order may justly be call'd the noblest in *Europe*, and less degenerate than the rest;

infomuch, that of thirty four Knights Companions, which make up the Compliment of the Order, three fourths are Sovereign Princes. The Order of \* *Danebrouk* is more common, and consequently  
 \* *Danebrouk signifies the White Order.* less confiderable; tho' after all, the Knights invefted with that Collar, [237] are intitled to feveral great Prerogatives and marks of Preheminence.

The natural Sons of the Kings of *Denmark*, bear the Title of † *Guldenlew* and *Highb Excellence*, \* and their Ladies are diftinguifh'd by the Compellation of *Highb Grace*. The prefent King has two natural Sons, whose Merit leaves all Expreflion far behind it. The eldeft Serves in *France* with all imaginable Applaufe. The Second who is but fifteen years of Age and continues here, is a very promifing Youth: He has a wonderful deal of Senfe and Wit; his Perfon is Handsome and well Shap'd; he is poffefs'd of all the Qualities that ingage the tender Sex; his Meen is perfectly charming; in a word, he is one of the compleateft young Gentlemen I ever faw. He is nominated High Admiral of *Denmark*; and, which is very furprifing, he is better vers'd in the *Mathematicks* and the Art of Building Ships, than the ableft Mafters. In the King of *Denmark*'s Dominions there are two Popifh Churches publickly Tolerated; one at *Glucftat* and the other at *Altena*.

The Air of this Country is very wholfome for thofe who live foberly; but it has a contrary effect upon difcontented Perfons. The only Difefe they complain of is the *Scurvy*;

† *Guldenlew signifies a Golden Lion.*

\* *Which is equivalent to the German Highnefs.*

which the Physicians impute to a foul nasty Air loaded with an infinity of thick and condensed Vapours, which joyn their Forces upon the Surface of the Earth, and insinuate themselves into the Lungs along with the Air: They plead that their Air thus polluted, joyns in with the Blood, and retards its Motion in so much that it congeals, and so gives rise to the *Scurvy*. But with the leave of [238] the good Doctors, I'll take the liberty to Vindicate the Air of this agreeable City, and beg 'em to consider that the impressions of the Air upon the Mass of Blood are less forcible than those of the Aliment. If the *Scurvy* took its rise from the unfavourable Qualities of the Air; by consequence every body would be equally liable to it; but this we find to be false, for that three quarters of the *Danish* Nation are clear of that Distemper. The Argument I now offer is grounded on the Observations I made upon all the Soldiers that dy'd of that Disease at the Forts of *Frontenac* and *Niagara* in the year 1687 (which I imparted to you in my \* Letters Dated the next year.) In those Forts we have the purest and wholfomest Air in the World; and for that reason it stands more to reason to attribute the Invasion of the *Scurvy* (which then reign'd) to the nature of the Aliment; I mean, to the Salt Meat, Butter and Cheese, as well as to immoderate Sleep and want of Exercise. This account of the matter will be back'd by all who have made long Voyages, when they consider the terrible havock that the *Scurvy* makes upon the Ship's Crews. I conclude therefore that the frequency of the *Scurvy* is owing to bad Victuals, pur-

\* See my *Letters in the first Volume, dated in 1688.*

suant to the Opinion of a very sensible Gentleman whom I credit very much. This Gentleman represented one day, that such acid Food increases the acidity of the Blood; and so it comes to pass that the Blood of Scorbutick Persons is destitute of Spirits; or at least, its Spirits are so thin and scanty that they are easily absorbed and envelop'd by the prevailing acids, and by that means put under an impossibility of exciting Fermentations. As for the influence of immoderate Sleep and [239] long Rest, all the World knows that they have a great tendency to the obstruction of the Intestines, and promote the Generation of Crude Juices, in cramping the Sensible and wonted Evacuations, partly by the slower Motion of the Spirits, and partly by the Insensible Transpiration of the Sublimer Particles. From these Remarks I conclude, that fresh Meat, good Porridge, regular Sleep, and moderate Exercise (*ad ruborem non ad sudorem*) are Antidotes against the *Scurvy*, and the best Correctives of the Mass of Blood, whether by Sea or Land.

If this digression, Sir, seems too long; I would have you to impute it to my earnest desire, of directing you how to ward off that ugly Distemper, when you come to undertake any long Voyage. I would not have you think that I have thus interrupted the thread of my Discourse, with intent to prove that the Air of this Island is better than that of *Portugal*: That's a thing I know nothing of; for whatever Air I breathe in, I am still equally well. 'Tis true, the inconstancy of the Weather might affect me in some measure, if I were oblig'd to pass the remainder of my life in *Copenhagen*; for here we

have frequent instances of the Weather's changing three or four times a day, and shifting from cold to hot, from dry to wet, and from clear to cloudy.

I had the honour to pay my profound respects to the King of *Denmark* at his Castle of *Fredericksbourg*, upon the occasion of his Installing some *German* Princes by Proxy in the Order of the Elephant. That Ceremony which indeed was very pretty, drew thither a great confluence of persons of a distinguishing Character; particularly all the Foreign Ministers who were proud of assisting at the Solemnity. Some days after that Prince went to take the Air at *Cronengbourg*, [240] which stands directly upon the side of the streight call'd the *Sund*. This Castle has a regular Fortification, being Wall'd with Brick, and cover'd with a great number of wide bore'd and long Culverines, which command the entry of the Streight, that I take to be the breadth of Three thousand five hundred Geometrical Paces, that is to say, a large *French* League. Here you have the pleasure of Seeing an infinity of Foreign Ships pass to and again between the Ocean and the *Baltick-Sea*: And in regard that the Guns of *Cronengbourg* are the Keys of this Port, all Foreign Ships lye under an indispensable necessity of coming to an Anchor at *Elsenor*, to pay the Toll before they go farther. You may allege, perhaps, that a Numerous Fleet of Men of War might force their Passage at the expence of a little Cannonading: and indeed I own the allegation to be just; but if the King of *Denmark's* Navy were at Anchor in the Streight, I am perswaded they would be able to secure the Pass: and for that reason you



ought not to think it strange that his *Danish* Majesty exacts a moderate Toll from the Merchantmen of all Nations, except the *Swedes*: At least I think he has a better Title to demand it, than the *Grandsignior* has in the *Dardanelles*. For most of the Ships that sail to the *Baltick*, go to Trade with *Lubeck*, *Brandenbourg*, *Dantzick*, *Prussia*, *Courland*, *Livonia* and *Sweden*; whereas those which pass the *Dardanelles* are bound for the *Grandsignior's* Ports, and Trade with none but his own Subjects. I would fain know whether the King of *Spain* would not make the like pretensions to a Toll upon the Streight of *Gibraltar*, if so be that *Europe* and *Africa* were so friendly as to sit a little nearer together. Nay, put the impossible supposition out of the case, who knows but that Prince may make such a [241] demand, when he comes to have a Puissant Naval Force? This Question is not so Problematick as you think for. However, a great many people are of the opinion that they might easily avoid the Toll of the *Sund*, if they did but steer obstinately through one of the two *Belts*: But they are mistaken. 'Tis true indeed, the thing might take, if the Sands in the Sea were as fixt as they are in the Charts; but that they are not; for the former shift in every Storm, whereas the latter stand for ever in the same Paper-station. Besides there's an infinity of cover'd Rocks, and irregular Currents,

unknown to the expertest Pilots, notwithstanding the assistance of their Maps and  
 \* *Books of Hydro-graphical Charts.* \* *Sea-Charts.*

To call up another Subject; Suffer me to acquaint you that *Denmark* produces a great many Commodities which are

fold with great Advantage to the *English* and *Dutch*; particularly *Rye*, *Corn*, *Cyder*, *Mead*, *Apples*, *Oxen*, *Cows*, *Fat Hogs*, *Horfes*, *Iron*, *Copper*, and all forts of Timber, especially Mafts from *Norway*, which affords fome of one piece that are big enough for *Noab's Ark*. In *Norway* there are fome Silver Mines, which, 'tis faid, the King might get by, if he would be at the charge of Digging. The *Norwegians* fell likewise the Skins of *Bears*, *Foxes*, *Martins*, *Otters* and *Elks*; but they are not fo fine as thofe of *Canada*.

To come to the King of *Denmark's* Naval Force; his Fleet which is always kept in good order, as well as his Magazines and Arfenals, confifts of Twenty Eight Ships in the Line of Battle, Twenty Six Fregats and Four or Five Firefhips; particularly

8 Ships from 80 to 100 Guns.

10 Ships from 60 to 80 Guns.

10 Ships from 50 to 60 Guns.

[242] 16 Fregats from 10 to 26 Guns.

3 Bomb Veffels.

He maintains 1800 Carpenters and 400 Gunners. The Sea Captains Pay is not always the fame. Some have Three Hundred, fome Four Hundred Crowns a Year. The Captain Commodores have five hundred, and the Commodores fix hundred: Befides thefe, there are twelve Marine Volunteers, call'd Apprentices, who have a hundred Crowns a Year. But after all, you'll be pleas'd to confider that thefe Allowances are not fo forry as you may think for; for in *Denmark* a Man may live for thirty Crowns, better than for a hundred Crowns in *France*.

Besides the above mention'd Fleet, his Majesty may, upon occasion, call for twenty four Ships from 40 to 60 Guns, which his Subjects are oblig'd to fit out at his Pleasure, and which are otherwise imploy'd in Trading to *Portugal*, *Spain*, and the *Mediterranean*. 'Tis to be observ'd by the bye, that a *Danish* Ship of fifty Guns may safely venture a Broad-Side with a *French* or *English* Ship of sixty, by reason that their Timber is very strong, and their Guns of a wide Bore. All the *Danish* Men of War are Built with half-flat Ribs, which occasions their heavy Sailing. Their Masts are very thick and short; Short that they may not bend under the Sails when they Weather Capes, Islands, Rocks and Banks in a Storm; and thick that they may bear the Sails tight, in doubling these Capes, Islands, &c. when the Boisterous Winds furrow the Surface of the *Baltick*. The King of *Denmark*'s Sea Men are well entertain'd, and well pay'd, and have twelve Crowns Bounty-Mony over and above their Wages, as soon as the Fleet is laid up. But at the same time, you must know that three thousand Sea Men are kept in constant Pay, and lodg'd in [243] an uniform Row of Barracks in the Streets of this City.

I shall conclude this Letter with a View of the Coin and Current Mony of the Kingdom.

A *Bank* Rix Dollar is worth 50 *Lubec* Pence.

A *Danish* Rix Dollar goes for 48 *Lubec* Pence.

A *Sbet Dal* is worth 32 *Lubec* Sous.

A *Marc-lubs* passes for 16 *Stuivers* of *Lubec*.

A *Marc Danish* is worth 8 *Lubec* *Stuivers*.

A half Mark *Danish* is worth 4 *Lubec* Pence.

One *Lubec* Penny is worth two *Danish* Pence, and two *Danish* Pence are of the same value with fourteen *French* Deniers, which is much the same with an *English* Penny; and by this Standard you may reduce all the above mention'd Denominations.

A Gold Ducat is worth two *Danish* Rix Dollars and fourteen Pence; sometimes 'tis two Pence under or over. A Rose-Noble is two Ducats. A Silver *Lowis* or a *French* Crown passes in *Denmark* for a *Danish* Rix Dollar; and the half and quarter Crowns observe the same proportion, as well as the *Louis d' Ores*.

In the Island of *Zealand* the Leagues consist of 4200 Geometrical Paces; the *Norway* Leagues are longer, and those of *Holfstein* are of less extent. The *Copenhagen* Ell is an Inch and a half bigger than the *French* half Ell.

*I am,*

*S I R,*

*Yours, &c.*

## [244] LETTER IV.

Dated at *Paris*, Dec. 29. 1694.*Containing a Journal of the Author's Travels from Copenhagen to Paris.*

S I R,

I LEFT *Copenhagen* three days after the Date of my last; being accommodated with Mr. *de Bonrepeau's* Coaches, who to avoid the fatigue of passing between the two *Belts*, had gone before to Wait upon the King of *Denmark* at *Coldinck*. You must know, that Prince goes thither Post every Year, notwithstanding that his Retinue amounts to a thousand or twelve hundred Persons. Upon that occasion, the Boors of the Villages adjacent to the Road, are oblig'd to bring their Horses to certain Places at an appointed hour, in order to draw the Coaches and Waggon that contain that numerous Retinue, with their Baggage. Tho' these Horses are little, yet they are strong, vigorous, tidy, insensible of cold, and so very light, that they'll go you a good Trott as fast as a Gallop. The Stages for shifting the Horses are two or three Leagues, as well as those for the Horse-Guards which conduct the King from place to place, and are reliev'd every Stage.

We set out from *Copenhagen* Sept. 15. and after three hours Travelling, arriv'd at *Roskild*, which makes six of those Leagues

of which twenty goe to a degree. We pass'd so speedily that we had only time to view the Tombs of the Kings of *Denmark*, while the Boors put fresh Horses in the [245] Coaches. These *Marble Mausoleums* are a finish'd piece of Architecture, and adorn'd with *Basse Relievo's* and *Latin Inscriptions*. The fine Marble of which they are Built, is very well Polish'd, being that of *Paros*, and *Africa*, and that call'd *Brocatelle*, *Serpentine* and *Cipellino*. The Tombs are plac'd in the Chappel of an ancient Church, that belong'd to the *Benedictins* before *Luther's* Remonstrances. The same very day we came to take up our night's Lodging in a Village near the great *Belt*; having enjoy'd the pleasure of viewing by the way, some admirable Land-Skips. Next day at eight a Clock in the Morning, we arriv'd at the Town of *Cortos*, which stands upon the Chops of the above mention'd Streight; and is Fortified with Earth.

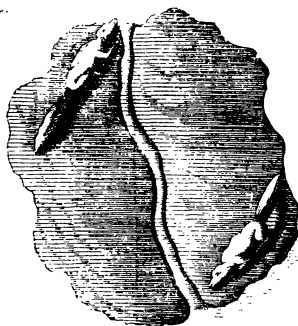
As soon as we Imbarqu'd in the Yacht that lay ready for Mr. *de Bonrepau*, we set Sail; but in crossing these four Leagues of Sea, the Wind was so low and the Sea so calm, that one might have drank Bumpers upon the Deck without spilling. We no sooner landed at *Nibourg*, a little paltry place regularly Fortified, than we took Coach, and set out for *Odenzee*, the Capital City of *Fionia*, where we lay that Night. *Odenzee* stands in the middle of that Island, which is one of the most fertile Territories of *Denmark*. The Cathedral Church is as handsome as 'tis large. In former times this City was the Residence of the Kings of *Denmark*, and the Inhabitants were so Barbarous as to murder one of their

Princes. The Nobility of the Island vye with those of *Venice* for Antiquity; especially the Family of *Trool*, which signifies *Sorcerer*, and which bears a Devil *Sable* upon a Field *Gules* for their Arms: From whence I conclude that this *Leo Rugiens*

was more tractable and illustrious in the  
 \* *An old Dotard that* Primitive [246] times, than in those of the  
*advances a thousand*  
*idle Whims, which* \* Author of the *Seven Trumpets*, or else the  
*are enough to turn a* Ancient Nobility would not have glory'd  
*Woman's Brains.* in placing him in their Coats of Arms.

The 18<sup>th</sup> we set out for *Midelford*, where we found a Barque that wafted us over from the farther side of the little *Belt*, after halting two or three hours in vain, for the coming up of the Waggon with Mr. *de Bonrepau's* Domesticks and Provisions. As soon as we cross'd over, we receiv'd Advice that they had miss'd their way; but we were so pinch'd with Hunger that we were forc'd to go to a Farmer's House, and dress with our own Hands some Broil'd Meat and Pan-Cakes, that we eat without drinking; for our Landlords Beer was as Wretched as his Water. Some time after the Ambassadour's Equipage Arriv'd; but 'twas then so very late that we were forc'd to tarry all night in that House of Martyrdom. The next day we arriv'd at *Coldinck*, where the Magistrate took care to provide Lodgings for the Ambassador in one of the best Houses in Town. Three or four days after, the King arriv'd at the same place.

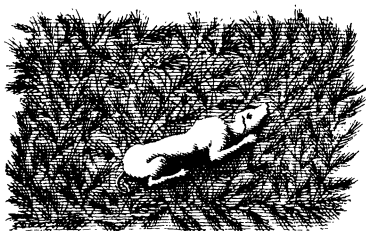
This little Town is Seated in the Country of *Jutland*, upon the Banks of a shallow Gulf that is Navigable only by Barques: But at the same time, 'tis very considerable upon



*The arms of the Outagamis call'd  
foxes*



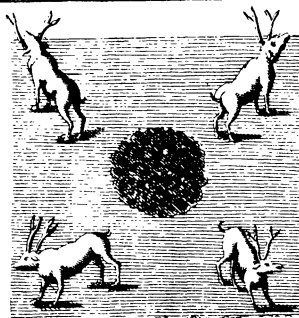
*The arms of the Outchipoues alias  
Jauteurs*



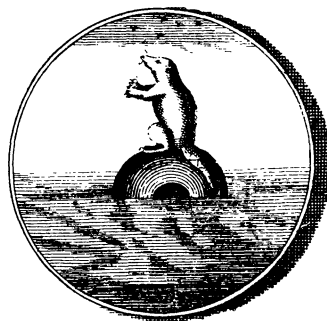
*The arms of the Poutecouatamis call'd  
Puants*



*The arms of the Oumamie.*



*The arms of the Outacouas & nations.*



*The arms of the Hurons*



*The arms of the Illinois*



*The arms of the Kickapooes*





the account of the Toll for Cattel that's pay'd at that place, and brings into the Royal Treafury near two hundred thousand Rix Dollars. The Caſtle is an ancient Pile of Stone, that contains a great many Rooms: But 'tis Situated to great advantage, for it ſtands on an Eminence that affords you a View of all the Country round. The *Danes* would have us believe upon their Word, [247] that an Angel was ſent from Heaven to the great Hall of this Caſtle, to acquaint *Chriſtian III.* King of *Denmark*, that God was ready to receive him after three days. They add, that in order to perpetuate the Memory of this miraculous Viſion, the very place where this Heavenly Ambaſſadour had Audience of the Prince, was took notice of, and a great Poſt was fix'd in it, which I ſaw every time I went to Court; for 'twas in that very Hall that the King made his publick Appearance all the time he was at *Coldinck*.

We took leave of *Coldinck* on the 24<sup>th</sup>, and Arriv'd on the 25<sup>th</sup> at *Rensbourg*, after paſſing by ſeveral little Towns and Royal Seats, the Deſcription of which would be too tedious. I ſhall only tell you by the bye, we have a great deal more pleaſure than fatigue in Riding Poſt in this Country, whether in Coach or Waggon, by reaſon of the evenneſs of the Ground, which affords as few Stones as Mountains. As ſoon as the King Arriv'd at *Rensbourg*, he review'd the Fortifications of the Place, which may eaſily be made one of the beſt Forts in *Europe*. Then he review'd a Body of Foot and Horſe, and had a great deal of reaſon to be ſatiſfied with their appearance. After ſome days he ſet out for *Gluckſat*, a little Town

upon the *Elbe*; almost as regularly Fortified as the last I spoke of. In the mean time Mr. *de Bonrepau*, who could not follow that Monarch, by reason of some Business he had to adjust with the Abbot *Bidal* at *Rensbourg*, gave me recommendatory Letters to several Persons, who he thought would be able to influence Mr. *de Ponchartrain*: But he was mistaken in his Conjecture, as you'll see presently.

After taking leave of the Ambassadour, I went to *Hamburg*, where I was inform'd that Count *Caniffec*, the Emperor's Envoy extraordinary to [248] the Court of *Denmark*, solicited the *Burgomasters* to Arrest me. The Surmise seem'd to be not improbable, for I knew that some time before he had taken up a Prejudice against me at *Fredericbourg*, upon the account of some Illuminations that were made in that place; which oblig'd me to flee with all expedition to *Altena*, and tarry there for a Passport from the Duke of *Bavaria*, without which I had certainly been taken up in the *Spanish Flanders*.<sup>1</sup> I had no sooner receiv'd this intelligence, than I met with the favourable opportunity of a return Coach bound for *Amsterdam*, where I found a place at an easy rate, without being incommoded with a Croud of Passengers, for there was but four of us, *viz.* An old *English* Merchant, a *German* Lady with her Chamber-Maid, and I. The Journey lasted eight days, and would have seem'd eight courses of Eternity to me, if it had not been for the agreeable Conversation of that lovely Lady, who spoke such good *French*, as to express her self

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<sup>1</sup> Maximilien II was Duke of Bavaria (1679-1726). A firm ally of the Spanish monarch, his passport would secure a traveller in the realms of that ruler. — ED.

very handfomely. You muſt confider, Sir, that the Ways of *Arabia Deferta* are not ſo bad as the Roads of *Weſtphalia*; at leaſt 'tis certain they are not ſo dirty. But the chief inconveniency lies in the Inns; for you muſt know, all the publick Houſes upon the Road are downright Hoſpitals; the Landlords of which would Starve for hunger, if Foreigners had not the Charity to give 'em a Share of their Proviſions, which they are forc'd to gather in from the Rich Farmers that live at a diſtance one from another. In theſe wretched Retreats you muſt reſt ſatiſfied in lying upon Straw; and all the Comfort a poor Traveller has, conſiſts in this, that he may command his Landlord and Landlady, and their Children, to go and run where he pleaſes. If you find a Frying-Pan and a Kettle to dreſs your Meat withal, you're a happy [249] Man. Wood indeed there's good Store of; and their Chimneys being Built ſquare, and ſtanding by themſelves, a hundred Perſons may fit and Warm themſelves at the Fire.

In the mean time, I admir'd the Patience of the *German* Lady, who was ſo far from complaining of the Hardſhips of the Journy, that ſhe took pleaſure in rallying upon the *Engliſh* Merchant, her Maid and my ſelf, who were all mightily out of humour. I conjectur'd from her air and carriage, that ſhe was a Perſon of Quality; and I found afterwards I was not miſtaken, for ſince we parted, I heard ſhe was a Counteſs of the Empire. She was ſo well acquainted with the *French* humours, that I did not doubt but that ſhe had been at *Paris*: But the thing that confirm'd me in that Opinion, was her talking ſo accurately of the Perſons of the firſt Quality about

Court; not to mention that she had an old *French* Servant, a *Roman Catholick*, that could scarce speak a Word of High *Dutch*. The Lady was of a large Stature and well Made; she look'd brisk enough, and her Beauty was so affecting that she us'd all her efforts in vain, to make me believe she was five and fifty years of Age. She could not endure to be answer'd, that her fresh and lively Complexion gave the lie to her Arithmetick; this she took for an affront, alledging that the Charms of a Woman beyond fifty, are too much Shrivell'd to cause Admiration. This, I take it, is a very singular and uncommon thing, for the rest of her Sex are scarce accustom'd to that sort of Language, in regard that they'd rather their Vertue were attack'd than their Beauty: But whatever be in that matter, she seem'd to be mightily prepossess'd against the *French*, in branding 'em for a light, giddy brain'd, indiscreet People, and still reflecting upon 'em for [250] thinking meanly of the *Germans*. "How comes it to pass, said she, that the *French* "have the impudence to deny the *Germans* the Character of "Witty, and to take 'em for a gross heavy People; instead of "acknowledging their just Title to solid Sense and Reflection, "by vertue of which they dive judiciously to the bottom of "things? What is it, continued she, that the *French* require "as essential to the Character of *avoir de l'esprit*? Must we "value our selves upon a livenes, and a false sparkling Wit "that dazzles with a vain Splendor? Must we mak't our "business to procure a ready and subtle imagination, in order "to dress idle Flams in Gilded Words? No, no; that nicety "of expression is but Whip'd Cream: And to speak the just-

“ tice of the matter, we ought to allow the *French* a preferable  
“ Title to the Science of speaking well, and to the *Germans* a  
“ just claim of going beyond ’em in just thoughts. But this  
was not all: For she attack’d the *French* Pride so vigorously,  
that she made Presumption and Vanity their ordinary and  
lesser Crimes. This shews, she had been in *France*; to which  
for a farther proof she added, that the *French* insulted the  
*Germans* with these ridiculous Proverbs; viz. *This Fellow’s as*  
*foolish as a German*; *He pick’d a German Quarrel with me*; *he*  
*takes me for a German*. *Such a Woman would make a good Ger-*  
*man Woman*, i. e. She is simple and foolish. At the same time,  
I endeavour’d to dissuade her from such unfavourable thoughts,  
by remonstrating that she ought to make a wide distinction  
between the sensible People of *France*, and those who are such  
fools as to imagine themselves a Standard for all other Na-  
tions. I intreated her to throw off her prejudicate Apprehen-  
sions, and to believe that the knowing part of our World have  
a profound [251] esteem for the *Germans*, and cry up their  
Merit, their Probity, their strong Sense, and their inviolable  
Fidelity. In earnest, Sir, the Persons of any Note in *Germany*,  
have a just Title to all these good qualities; nay, the Ety-  
mology of the Word, (*Alleman*, i. e. a *German*) gives us some  
light as to their Character: For *All* and *Man* imports that  
they are a People capable of any thing, like the *Jesuits* to whom  
some give the Title of *Jesuista Omnis Homo*, and who are there-  
fore said to be *Germans*, by a Sophistical way of Punning. But  
this is not all that may be offer’d on their behalf; there are a  
thousand things that speak the Merit of the *Germans*. We

are indebted to 'em for the discovery of the property of the *Load-Stone*, without which the New World had never reach'd our knowledg; for the Invention of *Printing*, which has taught us to distinguish Fabulous Manuscripts from Divine Writings; for the Invention of *Clocks*, of the Casting of *Guns*, *Bells*, &c. This gives plain evidence of their distinguishing Industry and Capacity. Add to all this that *Germany* has produc'd Soldiers, who by their Valour and Bravery made the *Capitol* to tremble, after defeating the *Roman Consuls*, and standing the Brunts of all the Courage and Puissance of the *Roman Legions*; That it has been equally fertile in great Men, in the way of Learning, particularly *Justus Lipsius*, *Furstemberg*, Mr. *Spanheim*, and *Melancthon*.<sup>1</sup> All this I represented to the Lady; but when I mention'd *Melancthon*, she interrupted me, and said, she was surpris'd to find that the *French* twitted the *Germans* with the Vice of hard Drinking, since themselves stood chargeable with *Plato's* Crime. I had almost made answer, that if the *French* had the same relish of things with that Philosopher, their only view was to love Superannuated Ladies with as much Passion [252] as he did his old *Archeanassa*: But I contented my self in replying, that the *Germans* being disoblig'd by having the Character of *Hard Drinkers* thrown upon 'em, made their reprisals upon the *French*, by fastening upon *them* the imputation

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<sup>1</sup> A group of German savants, of whom Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) was a great authority upon Roman antiquities; the Prince von Furstemberg (1625-82) was archbishop of Strassburg, and a satellite of Louis XIV; Ezekiel Spanheim (1629-1710) was a Latin scholar, author of a *History of the Cæsars*, and a diplomat of the court of the Elector of Brandenburg; Melancthon (1497-1560), the friend of Luther, was the principal scholar of the Reformation. — ED.

of *Hanetonic Love (Sodomy)* with intent to render 'em odious to the fair Sex. I had no occasion to make any farther offers in justification of the *French*, for the Lady seem'd to be satisfied with what I said. In fine, this Lady was so comely and agreeable in such advanc'd Years, that if *Balzac* had seen her, he would not have offer'd to say that he never saw a handsome old Woman in his life-time.<sup>1</sup> Questionless, that *Gascone Oracle* understood, by an old Woman, one of Seventy years of Age; for I have seen three or four that were perfect Beauties at Sixty, without ever a Wrinkle on their Faces, or a grey Hair on their Heads; and whose Eyes made still a retreat for *Cupid*.

As soon as I arriv'd at *Amsterdam*, I hir'd the Roof of the *Night-Boat* for *Rotterdam*; which sets out every day at three a Clock at both places, in order to convey Passengers to and again between these two Cities. It cost me a Crown, which I did not grudge; for I had the conveniency of Sleeping very quietly all Night upon the Quilts that the Waterman is oblig'd to furnish to all Passengers, who take the Stern-Room, call'd the Roof. The next day after my Arrival at *Rotterdam*, I took Shipping for *Antwerp* on Board of a *Hoy*, which is a Vessel with flat Ribs, and Lee-boards or Wings. The passage from *Rotterdam* to *Antwerp* is both safe and easy, and runs between the *Terra Firma* and the *Dutch Islands*; being favour'd by the Tydes. From *Antwerp* to *Brussels* I made use of the

<sup>1</sup> Lahontan here refers to the litterateur Jean Louis Guez de Balzac (1597-1654), whose *Letters* and *Dissertations* did much to fix the forms of French prose. On his father's side he also was a Gascon, being descended from a good family of Languedoc. — ED.



common Passage-Boat, which is only a great Boat drawn by a Horse. At *Brussels* I was advis'd to Ride Post [253] to *Lille*; because the High-way-men us'd to Rob most of the Coaches and Waggon upon that Road. I comply'd with the Seasonably Advice, and am now convinc'd that if I had not done so I had certainly been Rob'd. Two days after my arrival at *Lille*, I took a place in the Coach which goes twice a Week to this good City of *Paris*; and arriv'd here last Week, after being sufficiently Fleec'd by the Merciless Inn-Keepers upon the Road. These imposing Dogs give as little quarter to a Traveller, that do's not bargain before hand for what he eats; as the Waiters of *Peronne* do to those who endeavour to run Goods. At *Peronne*, you must know, they search so narrowly, that they not only turn every thing out of a Chest or a Portmanteau, but examine every body from top to toe. They suspect your Big-Belly'd Women most; and examine 'em so narrowly, that sometimes they slide their Hand into a place that was appointed for somewhat else. If any Traveller has either *Snuff*, *Tea*, *Indian Stuffs* or *Dutch Books* among his Baggage, the whole Cargo is Confiscated.

Immediately upon my Arrival in this place, I repair'd to *Versailles* to deliver Mr. *de Bonrepau*'s Letters: But the Persons to whom they were address'd, us'd their utmost Efforts to no purpose, in soliciting Mr. *de Ponchartrain* to allow me to justify my Conduct at *Placentia*. He answer'd 'em very coldly, that his Majesty's stiff and inflexible Temper would never admit of any Justification from an Inferiour in opposition to his Superiour. This answer, which in some measure tarnishes

the Shining Merit and Judicious Conduct of so Wise a Prince ; gave me to know that the Severity of Mr. *de Ponchartrain* did not proceed so much from a Principle of Equity, as from a Stiff *Iroquesse* Temper. In the mean time I [254] was like to die for Grief, notwithstanding that all my Friends endeavour'd to solace me, in advising me to raise my Mind above the Shocks of bad Fortune, till a change of Government happen'd. They did not scruple to counsel me to look out for some Refuge, where I might be shelter'd from the Fury of that Minister, so long as it pleases God to vouchsafe him the benefit of life, in order to allow him time to be Converted. *I delight not in the death of a Sinner, but would have him to be Converted, &c.* This Passage affords a fine Speculation, but I must own it has but little influence on one who is oblig'd to wait so long without any other relief than the Treasure at the bottom of *Pandora's* Box. Adieu, Sir ; I am to set out immediately for my Province, where I shall only pass thro' like Lightning. Not to trouble you with what's behind, I conclude with my plain Compliment, that

*I am,*

*SIR,*

*Yours, &c.*

## [255] LETTER V.

\* Near *Labontan* in *Basse Navarre*. Dated at \* *Erleich*, July, 4. 1695.

*Giving a View of the Superstition and Ignorance of the People of Bearn; their addiſtedneſs to the Notions of Witchcraft, Apparitions, &c. And the Author's Arguments againſt that Deluſion.*

S I R,

**D**OUBTLESS you'll be mightily surpriz'd when you hear I am now in fight of a Country of which I retain no more than the bare Name; but your surprizal will be yet greater when you're inform'd that all the recommendations of Perſons of the firſt Quality about Court could not influence Mr. *de Ponchartrain*, whoſe Prepoſſeſſion againſt me is invincible. I left *Paris* with a melancholy Mind, and went to Solace my ſelf for ſome Months in a certain Province of the Kingdom that you will eaſily gueſs at. From thence I made a trip ſtreight to *Rochel*, where I went on board of a Veſſel that commonly carries Paſſengers to *Tremblade*. In that Paſſage I fell into the Company of a White Friar, the Hiſtory of whom is ſo very uncommon that I can't paſs him in ſilence.

He calls himſelf *Don Carlos Baltaſar de Mendoza*, and is the Son of a rich Gentleman at *Bruffels*. He is about three and thirty or four and thirty Years of Age, and is at leaſt as tall and as meagre as I am. He ſerv'd the King of *Spain*

three or four Years in the quality of a Captain of [256] Horfe; and for as much as he study'd the purfuit of Sciences, more than the humouring of the Governour of the *Neitherlands*, his Catholick Majefty refus'd him a Regiment that his Father offer'd to raife at his own Charge. This denial oblig'd him to quit the Service: and foon after, being prefs'd by his Parents to Marry, he went to *Germany* and put on a Monks Habit, which he threw away fome time after. Those who gave me an account of him, affur'd me that he had taken up and laid down the Habit feveral times. But whatever be in that matter, he is certainly one of the moft Accomplish'd Men of this Age. He is at once perfectly well acquainted with the fineft Sciences, and with the principal Languages of *Europe*. This Character was given him by the greateft Men in *Bourdeaux*, who pay'd him feveral Vifits that I was witnefs to, for we lodg'd together in that City. But the beft of the Story is, that the next Day after our arrival two Merchants of his own Country paid him a round fum of dry *Louisd'ors*, part of which he beftow'd upon the Soldiers in the *Trompet-Castle*, who would otherwife never have thought that an Ecclefiastick would be fo Liberal to Perfons of a Military Capacity. All the Divines, Mathematicians and Philofophers that vifited him, were fo charm'd with the extent of his Knowledge, that they affirm'd that the quickeft and fharpeft Man in the World could not acquire an equal ftock of Learning in a courfe of fixty Years Study. We ftaid fifteen Days at *Bourdeaux*, and during that time he had the Curiofity to fee nothing but a little Church in the Neighbourhood of his Lodgings, and the

Trompet-Castle. He Read and Wrote incessantly; and as for the Breviary I believe he had none about him, for he was neither Deacon nor Priest. I never could [257] learn what Order he was of; for when I ask'd him, his Answer was, *I am a White Monk, and nothing more.*

Both of us took Places in the *Bayonne* Coach (for the Friar was bound for *Spain*;) when we came to *Esperon* we parted, and I took the *Dax* and *Bayonne* Road. I had no sooner arrived at the Country House where I now am, than I receiv'd an infinity of Visits that I could easily have dispens'd with; for within these four Days they have so fill'd my Head with Stories of Gardening, dressing of Vines, Hunting and Fishing, that I have scarce a sufficient freedom of thought to dispatch this Express, and to acquaint you with the Affairs that oblige me to desire an Interview with you. But that which troubled me most, was the impertinent Folly of our wiser sort of Country-men: For all of 'em, whether Priests, Gentlemen or Peasants, do nothing but teaze me from Morning to Night with Stories of Wizards and Witches; and Instance particularly in you, as being the only Man in the World that has sustain'd most harm from that sort of Cattle; in fine, they ply me so hot with their Chimera's, that I'm affrai'd I shall turn Magician. The whimsical Souls assure me in good earnest, that such and such a one is a Wizard; nay, some swear the same thing of themselves, and others declare in Conscience that they once were of that Society, but had afterwards quited the Devils Sabbath. I ask'd several of 'em the Charms of that Sabbath, and receiv'd this Answer, *That the Sabbath was a*

*Palace accommodated with the best Wines, the nicest Food, the handsomest Women, and the most agreeable Musick in the World ; That in this Palace they Drink, Eat and Dance, and do with the fine Ladies, what they might do elsewhere without being Wizards.* In fine, I verily believe, that [258] Beasts are not allow'd to be so Brutish as these Fools. Imagination can't reach their Folly ; for 'tis as usual here to call one another Wizard, as to use the compellation of a Friend elsewhere. Every body believes the Wizards are so numerous, that 'tis a Scandal for a Man not to pass for one of the Gang ; and so every one glories in the venerable Title of a Wizard or Conjuror.

Since I came to this place I am taken for an Atheist, because I tire my self in inculcating to the Priests and Gentlemen, that none but shallow Brains will entertain such idle Whims. But that which throws me into Dispair is the News that a Man of your Sense should gulp down such monstrous Flams, notwithstanding all the Arguments that guard off such an Opinion. Be it known to you, Sir, you must absolutely deny the Omnipotence of God, if you establish in this World, Sorcerers, Magicians, Soothsayers, Inchanters, Apparitions, Phantasms, Familiars, Hobgoblins, and a visible Devil that brings up the rear of all these Chimera's. To believe that God makes use of Wizards and Magicians to afflict Men, or blast the Product of the Earth, speaks a want of Religion, Sense and Wisdom. None but *Europeans* are capable to credit such Phantastical Stories. In this Country every body takes pleasure in recounting his Visions, and there's none but who has seen or heard

some Spirit or other in his Life-time. Few dive to the bottom of these popular Errors; and most People would scruple to believe that these Errors are the Inventions of Idolatrous and Christian Priests. The World entertains too favourable an Opinion of the Clergy to charge 'em with that Crime; and if by chance one were found who being convinc'd of the Cheats of [259] the Priests makes the Oracles promote the spunging of Mens Pockets and Womens Thighs, an infinity of ignorant Souls would still disbelieve him. Believe me, Sir, I confine my Discourse to these Ancient Priests, that I may not give you Offence by reflecting on the Industry of the Modern; I have the Pope's Kettle too much in view to hinder it to Boil, for one Day it may come to be my last Refuge; and so I ought to hold my Peace. This Subject would require a clear and distinct Dissertation, and perhaps I may present you with some such thing one of these Days.

*\* By a strong Genius (esprit Fort) I understand a Man that Fathoms the Nature of Things; that believes nothing but what is maturely weigh'd by his Reason; and without any regard to Prejudice makes wise Decisions upon such Heads as he has clearly canvass'd.*

In the mean time be pleas'd to know that a \* strong Genius will never suffer it self to believe the existence of Sorcerers, &c. especially considering that they are all as poor as Church Rats; for how can we imagine that these pretended Mischreants should have the Courage to trust themselves to a Master who is so far from discovering to 'em hidden Treasures, and a thousand other things in the Commerce of the World which might enrich 'em, that he suffers 'em to be Hang'd and Burnt? Prithee, how can

we believe that God impowers these poor Wretches to raise Storms and overturn the Elements? 'Tis alledged that the Devil inveigles 'em by Promises, and makes Contracts with 'em under a private Seal; but from thence 'twould follow that God invested the Devil with a Power to seduce those poor Mortals; which at the same time he could not do without Authorizing Lies. To pretend that God Arms the Enemy of [260] Mankind against Humane Creatures, is a downright insulting of his Wisdom. None but airy Fools can entertain the Wickedness of Sorcerers, the Cunning of Magicians, the Power of Conjurers, the Apparitions of Spirits, and the Sovereignty of the Devil, for Articles of Faith: For such Thoughts are only harbour'd by Fools and Bigots. The Vulgar feed themselves with such Chimera's; and the Parsons that preach 'em up find their account in all Countries. Do but mind what I say, and you'll find I'm in the right of it. In former Times the Character of a Philosopher or Mathematician was a sufficient Qualification for a Sorcerer. The Savages believe that a Watch, a Compass, and a thousand other Machines are moved by Spirits; for your ignorant and clownish People form extravagant Ideas of every thing that surpasses their Imagination. The *Laplanders* and the *Tartarian Kalmouks* ador'd Strangers for playing *Legerdemain* Tricks. The *Fire-eater* at *Paris* pass'd a long while for a Magician. The *Portuguese* burnt a Horse that did wonderful things, and his Owner had enough to do to make his escape, because they took him for a Conjurer. In *Asia* the *Chymists* are look'd upon as Poysoners. In *Africa* the Mathematicians bear the name of Wizards. In



*America* the Physicians are branded for Magicians; and in some parts of *Europe* those who are well vers'd in the *Hebrew* Tongue are deem'd for *Jews*.

But to return to the Cunning Men of our Country; What reason have we to think that Men would bequeath their Souls for the imaginary *Sabbatic* Pleasure of poysoning Cattle, blasting Corn with Storms and Hail, and raising such boisterous Winds as overturn Trees, and strip the Earth of its Fruits. One would think these [261] Disciples would rather ask Riches of him; for if the Devil is capable of turning the Elements topsy turvy, and interrupting the Course of Nature, why does not his Power extend to the pumping of Gold from the Mines of *Perou*, or engrossing the Treasures of *Europe*, in order to give Pensions to his Magical Votaries, who are as poor as Church Mice? I know you'll answer, *That pieces of Silver will turn into Oak-leaves in the Hands of the Devil*: But that Allegation sinks his Power of working so many Miracles, and particularly that which he imparts to the Wizards. But supposing that he is not allow'd to work in Silver; might not so wise a Creature as he is represented to be, teach 'em the means to acquire it in the way of Commerce or Gaming? What should hinder him to conduct 'em to hidden Treasures, or to such as are lost in Shipwrack, or at least to teach 'em the Secret that enabled the *Paffetes* Magician to recal into his Pocket all the Money he spent? You'll meet with some who maintain, that the Devil us'd such Methods long before the Deluge, to precipitate Men into a Magical Idolatry: But if you trace such Doctors from Consequence to Consequence,

'twill follow that God was guilty of a flaming piece of Malice, which cannot be. I would not have you to be surpriz'd in finding that I deny Magicians as well as Sorcerers or Wizards; for if we allow of the one, the other must be acknowledg'd in Course. All the World takes *Agrippa* for the Prince of Magicians; but at the same time he was no more such than you. His Magick lay here.<sup>1</sup> Being one of the greatest Philosophers of his Age, and having given proof of his Knowledge before the Mob of *Lions*, the Women were so charm'd with it, that almost all of 'em employ'd him to cuckold their [262] Husbands, and at the same time some Rival Monks who pretended to describe the Devil's Art, plac'd him at the Head of the five Popes, that *Berno* the Schismatick Cardinal had the Infolence to brand for Magicians. But *Agrippa's* Book made the same Impression upon the Minds of Fools with the Conjuring Book and *Heptameron* of *Appono*. All these Chimera's spring from the impertinent Writers of Conjuring, who have fill'd the World with their Illusions, either thro' Malice or Ignorance. I can't look upon the Books of *John Nider de Vujer*, of *Niger*, *Sprenger*, *Platina*, *Tostat*, and the two Jesuits *Delrio* and *Maldonat*, without cursing 'em for ever; for they advance Positions so contrary to Reason, and inconsistent with the Wisdom of God, that all Christian Princes would do well to call in all such Books and have 'em burn'd by the Hand of the publick Executioner,

<sup>1</sup> Cornelius Agrippa, of Nettesheim, who attempted in the fourteenth century to mitigate the horrors of witchcraft superstition, and defended an accused witch. Lahontan refers to his book, *Occulta Philosophia*. — ED.

without spairing *Bodinus's Demonomania*, the *Mallet of Sorcerers*, and the *Seven Trumpets*.<sup>1</sup> What reason have we to believe that *Eric King* of the *Goths* was firnam'd *Windy Hat*, because he becken'd to the Winds with his Hat, and made 'em shift as he pleas'd; That *Paracelsus* had an Army of Devils under his Command; that *Santaberenus* shew'd to *Basil* the Emperor his Son alive after his Death; That *Michael* the *Scot* foretold the Death of the Emperor *Frederic II*. That *Pythagoras* kill'd a Serpent in *Italy* by Vertue of some Magical Words? And yet these Authors vent a thousand Lies of that nature for uncontested Truths: But what *Gervais* says of *Virgil's* Brass Fly Crowns the whole Work. 'Tis a Miracle to me that the Chancellor of the Emperor *Otho* should have thus expos'd himself in advancing a Falshood accompany'd with many other Lies. From hence we may learn, the Dignity of a Chancellor has not the vertue to entail [263] Wisdom upon the Fools that brook it. Is it not commonly given out that the Devil run away with President *Picbon*? Who has not heard of Marshal *Luxemburg's* Compact with the Devil? And does not the World blindly believe that the poor Curate of *Loudun*,

<sup>1</sup> Lahontan here cites a group of authors on the subject of magic. Nider, an inquisitor of the fourteenth century, published the *Formicarius*, a treatise on heresy. Sprenger, a German inquisitor, was the author of the manual *Malleus Maleficarum* (Mallet of Sorcerers), which was "the most portentous monument of superstition the world has produced." Platina, the learned author of *Vitæ Pontificum* (Lives of the Popes), relates many tales of witchcraft. Tostatus was a Spanish theologian of the fifteenth century, and Delrio, a Jesuit, whose *Disquisitiones Magicæ* went through frequent editions in the seventeenth century. Jean Bodin's *Demonomanie des Sorciers* was a compilation on witchcraft. For the entire subject consult Lea, *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1888); White, *History of Warfare of Science with Theology* (New York, 1896). — ED.

who was burnt by the Tyranny of Cardinal *Richelieu*, without any other Crime than that of incurring his Displeasure ; Does not every one believe, I say, that this poor Curate rais'd a hundred young Devils out of Hell to possess the Bodies of the Nuns of *Loudun* ? What impertinent and childish Stories does *John Schefer* offer in his History of *Lapland* ? Is not it very strange that the People should be allow'd to read such Books ? Are not some so foolish as to credit these Chimera's as Articles of Faith ? And is it possible for you to disabuse 'em, or to persuade 'em that no Man can cure Wounds by the speaking of a few Words, or that the Men who deal in Characters do not perform all sorts of Miracles by virtue of certain Phials, Garters, &c. ? No truly, Sir, you would never compass your end if you offer'd to teach 'em a Doctrine contrary to these receiv'd Opinions ; they would hang you for a Heretick, or at least take you for a Magician that by such a cunning fetch mean'd to screen the whole Magical Fraternity from Prosecution.

Believe me, Sir, all that I now write is positively true. The Devil has not the Power to appear visibly before our Eyes, and by consequence he can't engage us in his Interests by a Magical or Witchcraft Contract. Such a Supposition is inconsistent with the Goodness of God, who does not lay Snares for Men that are already apt to go astray. You see I do not deny the Existence of the Devil ; for I believe he is in Hell : But I deny that he ever remov'd from [264] the Regions below, to do mischief upon the Earth. As for the Passages of *Scripture*, which you may take for an Objection, I

answer; That if all the Places of *Scripture* were to be understood in a Literal Sense, God would be suppos'd to have Hands and Feet, and the *Holy Ghost* to talk like an *Iroquese*. You must know, that before the coming of the *Messias*, Dæmons were the tutelar and benign Gods; and the Word *δαίμωνιον* signifies nothing else but Good Genius; but the *Evangelists* have stamp'd upon them an Infernal Character, by adding the Epithet, *Κακο*, *i. e.* Evil: And for that Reason the good Devils have been ever since reputed Evil Spirits, according to the Literal Sense. Sir, you may perceive, I only insist against the Existence of Sorcerers, Magicians, Inchanters, &c. which I am the more encourag'd to do, upon the Consideration, that the Interpreters of Holy Writ have given 'em Titles of *Astronomers*, *Chiromancers*, *Astrologers*, &c. and in giving the Explication of these synonymous Words, never alledg'd, that they were the Devil's Scholars.

This Subject would require a large Differtation; for 'tis truly a very nice Point, which I only pretend to glance upon by the Bye, without spending more time in justifying the Arraigned Criminals from the guilt of an Imaginary Crime, that 'tis impossible for them to put in execution. Believe me, Sir, the Magicians are Rogues that cut a Purse dexterously and unhinge a Door nimbly: Your Apparitions, Phantomes, Hobgoblins and Spirits are Rascally Varlets, that in the Night time steal Corn and Fruit, and kiss not only the Servant-Maids, but sometimes their Masters Wives: Your Inchanters are roving Fellows, and Lovers by Trade, who inveigle poor Girls under a Promise of Marriage. Your [265] Soothsayers

are the Cunning Ecclesiasticks, who knowing the *Foible* of some Rich men, extort pious Legacies from 'em, with their wonted Dexterity. The Sorcerers are those False Coiners, who abound so much in our Country, and the Clippers, who pare the Piaftres and the *Spanish* Pistoles so cleverly; for these Sabbatic Works are always performed in the Night-time, and in the obscurest Places. All this I offer for your information; and so shall leave you to believe what you please.

I know the *Bearnese* are too much inclined to Superstition, and owe their Byas to the Ancient Members of their \*Parliament, who by a stretch of Cruelty beyond that of *Nero*, burnt so many Innocent Wretches.

*\*Held at Pau, the Capital of the Province of Bearn.*

If these Bigotted Counsellors are now in Paradise, most certainly neither you nor I will ever be sent to Hell: Believe me, Sir, the Man that's capable of giving credit to the *Chimæra's* I now speak of, will not stand to swallow a thousand other Fables that your Men of Sense make a Jest of. I do not pretend to undeceive the Ignorant Vulgar, for I know 'tis impossible; 'tis you only that I want to instruct; for I'm told, you declare, that all the Cats in the Province have the honour to be animated by the Souls of the Ancient Wizards, whose Ashes have serv'd for Lye to the Washer-women of *Pau* these many Years. Our Salvation does not depend upon the belief of that Article, for I'm sure 'tis no Article of Faith. Some People are very ingenious in frightening themselves, by conceiving that the Devil transforms himself into a Mastiff, a Sorcerer into a Cat, and a Magician into a Wolf; that a Soul

retaining to Purgatory, assumes all sorts of Shapes, in order to beg Prayers [266] of the Living, who have enough to do to pray for themselves. After these Crotchets are once lodg'd in a Man's Brains, he's afraid to lie alone, and the noise of a Rat freezes the Blood in his Veins; for a frighted Imagination trembles at the Apprehension of its own *Chimera's*; and besides the Injury done to himself, he does harm to others, by recounting his Impertinent and Rediculous Adventures: His Stories meet with a ready reception, from the weak and simple sort of People, and have such a scaring influence upon the Women, that they are forc'd in their Husbands absence to get some body to lie with 'em, that has the resolution to oppose the Sorcerers, Magicians, Apparitions, &c. A Young Girl dares not empty a Tub of Water, unless a sturdy Footman accompanies her with a Link in his Hand. In fine, this Doctrine of Sprights is the source of a thousand Inconveniencies, which afford an opportunity to Robbers, Whoremasters and Profligate Fellows to compass their Ends.

As for my part, I solemnly declare, in all the Countries I have been in, I never saw or heard any thing supernatural in the Night-time: I have us'd my Efforts to see or hear some News from the other World; I have cross'd *Quebec* Church-yard above a hundred times at Mid-night, in my way to the Lower City, but never met with any thing. But suppose I had *had* some Phantome in my view (pardon the Supposition) what d'ye think I would have done? Why, I would e'en have walk'd on very sedately with my naked Sword over my Arm, if the Spright seem'd to be on one side of me; and if it had

been posted before me just in my way, I would have asked it very civilly, to give me leave to pass by. You'll reply, perhaps, that Swords and Pistols are useless in such cases, and that I own to be true; but [267] then you must consider, that if it had been a Spright, a Shadow and Vapour could not wound me no more than I could wound it; and if it had been some Living Thing of a Monstrous Figure, my Arms would have serv'd to punish the Insolent Impostor. Do but observe, Sir, that in all the Stories of Apparitions, Sprights, Fantoms, Hobgoblins, &c. we never hear of the killing or wounding of any body. Now, if these pretended Infernal Ambassadors have such tender Hands, why should we fear 'em more than the Lightning that ushers in a Clap of Thunder? In fine, a Wise Man ought not to dread any thing but that which can annoy him either directly, or indirectly.

You'll object, perhaps, that a Soldier, who has signaliz'd his Courage and Bravery on several occasions, has been known to tremble, grow pale, and sweat for fear, upon the seeing or hearing of a String of Living Fantoms, that pretended to divert themselves at his Cost. I acknowledge that such a thing may happen, but it proceeds from this; that such people have entertain'd a Notion of Visions from their Infancy, without giving themselves the trouble to enquire into the possibility of their Existence. In a word, they have believ'd what other Bigots believe of the Power of the Devil. Such men fear nothing but their own Imagination. But I have done; time runs, and I am oblig'd to go about a little Business immediately: I wish I may meet with no Pettyfogger in my



way, for that Cattel is not so easy to deal with as Wizards and Phantoms.

I desire an interview at *Ortez*: The Papers I now send along with this Letter, will inform you of the Business I want to discourse. The Country I am now in is a very good Country, [268] but I do not find Money stirring among us, which in my truth I do not like, for among the *Europeans* one can't live without Money, as they do among the *Hurons* of *Canada*. I always think of that Countrey with regret, when my Pocket is at low water, and my Mind disquieted with Care and Anxiety, in contriving how to fill it with that precious Metal, that gives life and spirit to the forriest sort of Men, and inspires 'em with all Good Qualities.

*I am,*

*SIR,*

*Yours, &c.*

## LETTER VI.

Dated at *Huesca*, July 11. 1695.

*Containing an Account of the Author's wonderful Escape; his being taken up for a Huguenot, and examin'd by the Ignorant Curates.*

I'VE 'scap'd for once, but 'twas a very narrow Escape, as you may guefs by the Story of my Flight, which was in fhort thus. I was upon the point of meeting you according to agreement at *Ortez*, and for that Reason had been at *Dax* to receive fome Papers which seem'd to be of ufe to me; when by a matchlefs piece of Good Luck, [269] I met with a Letter from a certain perfon at *Versailles*. I had no fooner read my Letter, than I march'd ftraight to my Lodging, to contrive within my felf fome way to get fafe out of the Kingdom. You may be fure my Council was foon affembled, for fuch a Head-piece as mine does not ufe to fpend much time in Confultations. I determin'd to delude my Landlord, by defiring him to give me an Account in Writing of the Road to *Agen*, where I pretended to have fome Bufinefs. The beft of the matter is, that I had already got of my Farmers near two hundred Piftoles, and a fine Horfe, which I was oblig'd to for my lucky deliverance. I got up by the break of day, and defir'd a Guide to condu&t me out of one of the Gates of the City, that leads a quite different way from that I had in my Eye.

As soon as I got out of Town, I took the Road of *Ortez*, and avoiding all Villages, steer'd upon Heaths, Fields, Vineyards and Woods, following all By-paths, and lodging in the remotest Houses; I had no other Guide but the Sun, and the sight of the *Pyrenees*, and ask'd every one I met upon the Road, which was the way to *Pau*. But not to detain you too long with the Particulars of my Journey, you must know, I arrived at last at *Laruns*, the last Village of *Bearn*, situated as you know, in the Valley of *Ozaa*. I had scarce entered this foolish Village, when a Company of Peasants surrounded me on all sides: Judge you if I had not reason to fear that the Grand Provost was not far behind; but I was mistaken, for the Rascals stop'd me for no other Reason, but because they fancied there was somewhat in my Countenance that looked like *Huguenotism*; they gave me leave however to alight at a Tavern, which was so dark and full of Smoak, that you would have took't [270] for the Antichamber to Hell; and here, you must know the Parson was to come to examine me in Matters of Religion; and that in a Country where the Priests understand as little what they believe as their Parishioners: For after I had answer'd him upon all the Points he thought fit to mention, he swore I was a *Huguenot*; and upon this, Sir, I was like to have lost all patience. But considering I had Beasts to deal with, I thought my best way was to use 'em as Beasts; so I offer'd to satisfy 'em by reciting the *Litany*, and the *Sunday Vespers*, but this Stratagem fail'd me, for they still continued obstinate, in proposing to carry me to *Pau*. Judge what a perplexity I was in, when the Infamous Rabble said,

*The Psalms and the Litanies were the first Prayers the Huguenots learn'd to cover their Design of getting out of the Kingdom.* It signify'd nought to tell 'em, I was Master of the Horse to *Monsieur L' Abbee d' Eftrees*, and that I was going to that Ambassador in *Portugal*; that was *Clamare in deserto*. 'Twas to as little purpose to threaten to send immediately to the Intendant at *Pau*, to demand Justice for the Affront, and for my being stop't: All this did not move 'em. At last, after a melancholly Reflection on the danger I was in, I resolv'd to try all ways to delude these Ignorant Creatures; though this was no easy task, for they are wholly govern'd by their Doctors. And here I think I ought to pray to God to bless the first Inventer of Snuff, for after I had fretted my self two or three Hours in talking to these Varlets, I accidentally pull'd out my Snuff-box, without thinking of it, and as soon as I open'd it, one of the most Civiliz'd Men of the Company desir'd to see the Picture on the Inside, which represented a Court-Lady upon a Couch, all naked, with her Hair hanging loose. As soon as he [271] had looked upon it, he show'd it to the rest, who said to one another in their *Bernoise* Language, That it was a *Mary Magdalene*. At this Lucky Word, I rous'd my Spirits, when all on a sudden the Parson ask'd me, What the Meaning of the Picture was? I made answer, *'Twas a Saint that would take Vengeance of them for an Affront offer'd to one of her Devoutest Worshippers*: And so fixing my Eyes upon the Naked Figure, I made a Prayer to that Saint with an Elogy; in which I attributed more Miracles to her than to all the Saints in Paradise. This, together with the

Exclamations I made, did so blind the Company, that they all kifs'd the Head of the Pretended Saint with a wonderful Zeal, and from that time I was no *Huguenot*, for I still continued to invoke the Saint that in *Bearn* is known to be a worker of Miracles, with the same fury and disposition that I then feign'd. Every one strove to get my Prayers down in Writing, and all the Peasants now were at Emulation one with another who should guide me over the Mountains, or who should furnish me with Mules. Such, Sir, is the diverting History of the strange Effects of Snuff: If it is of use to others, to hammer out an Argument by gaining the time which is spent in conveying it from the Fingers to the Nose, 'twas of great use to me another way, without so much as expecting it. What a Misfortune it is for an Honest Man to be under a Necessity of prophaning the Saints for the preservation of his Life! 'Tis true, my Meaning was good, and I have asked Pardon of God for it. This shews that a well manag'd Lye can produce among Ignorant People even such Effects as the Naked Truth cannot compass. What pity is it that a Parson should not so much as understand his *Catechism*, and at the same time [272] swallow down Idle Stories for Miracles! But this is the Bishop's Business, not mine.

And indeed our Bishops are much like our Officers, who are prefer'd more by Favour and Interest than by Merit. The greatest part of them are more industrious to please their Sovereign than their God. But a man had as good pretend to drink the Ocean dry, as to attempt a Reformation of these Abuses.

To continue the Thread of my Adventure, you must know, I hired two Mules, one for my Guide, another for my self. My Horse was so tired with struggling to save me, that Gratitude obliged me to use him with all manner of civility and mildness; for 'twas no more than what he deserved by his fatiguing Services. In the mean time the Night, which seem'd as long to me as an Age, (so much I dreaded the Provost's Crew) gave me more leisure than enough to beg pardon of God for the Contrivance by which I saved my self, in making use of the Names of his Saints. In this Condition I was continually peeping at the Window to look for the dawning of the Day, but this Village is so shut up among the *Pyrenees*, that 'tis a hard matter to discern the Sun in his Meridian, or the tenth part of the Arch of the Heavens. At last wearied with that uneasiness, and quite spent with the Fatigues both of Body and Mind, I tried to indulge Nature with one Hours sleep as a recompence for three Days waking, when all on a sudden I was alarm'd with a great Noise of Men and Horses at the Inn-Gate; the Knocks they gave, and their strange Hollowing, freez'd all the Blood in my Veins, for I thought all the Constables in the Kingdom were upon my Back; but my Fears prov'd abortive, for it was only some Muliteers going to traffick in *Spain*. [273] By this time Day-light appear'd, and my Guide called upon me, upon which we set out, and join'd in with these Travellers: That Day we went as far as *Sallent*, the first Town in *Spain*, seven Leagues distant from *Laruns*; having pass'd a House which the *Spaniards* call *Aigues Caudes*, that is, the Hot-waters, or

a Bath which cures a world of Diseases. When we were got to *Sallent*, they shewed us to an Inn, so dark, that it seem'd fitter for a Vault to lodge Dead-Carcases in, than to entertain Passengers; my Spirits were then so exhausted for want of rest, that I fell asleep immediately, and slept standing in a manner; the Beds looking like a Magazine of Lice, I made them spread me some Straw upon the Boards, where I laid my self down, after having order'd my Guide to provide for himself what Cheer he lik'd best, upon the proviso that he should not wake me. I slept in this Posture from Nine a Clock at Night till Noon next Day without waking; after which we spent the rest of the Day in finding out a sorry Meal of Meat: The next Day after we put on very smartly, and came to an Inn where we found good store of Fouls and Pigeons, and upon these we made reprisals for our former Ill Fare. In short, we arriv'd last Night at this City, which stands upon a flat low Ground, at the distance of Two Leagues from the Mountains. All I can tell you of the Country, is; That from *Laruns* to this Place, we have two and twenty Leagues distance; and upon that Road we do nothing but climb up and descend narrow Paths, upon which, if the Mule did but stumble, there's an unavoidable necessity of tumbling down a Dismal Precipice. My Guide [274] told me, That the Road through the Valley of *Aspe*, is the pleasantest, shortest and most convenient; but the way which leads by *St. John de Pied de Port* has this advantage, that there's only Eight Leagues of Mountains between *Roncevaux* and the Plains of *Navarre*. Upon the whole, I wonder much that *Hercules* did not split these

*to Portugal and Denmark.*

717

Mountains for the Accommodation of Travellers, as well as those of *Calpe* and *Abila* for the Conveniency of Sailers. I fet out to morrow by the break of Day, in order to reach *Saragoza* at Night.

*I am,*

*S I R,*

*Yours, &c.*



## LETTER VII.

Dated at *Saragoza*, Octob. 8. 1695.

*Containing a Description of Saragoza; a View of the Government of Arragon, and an account of the Customs of the People.*

S I R,

I HAVE been three Months in this good Town of *Saragoza*, during which time, I've receiv'd seven or eight Letters, charging me with Carelessness in not satisfying your Curiosity: But the fault lies at your own Door and not at mine; [275] for if you had not been so negligent as to delay the sending of what I receiv'd this very day, my Pen had not trac'd the uneasyness of my Mind, instead of pursuing the following Relation.

*Saragoza* is the Capital City of the Kingdom of *Arragon*: And I can't tell whether I ought to call it only *pretty*, or *very pretty*. However, I'm sure 'tis a very great City; the Streets are broad and well pav'd; the Houses are for the most part three Story high, tho' some of 'em have five or six; and all of 'em are Built after the old Fashion. The Market and publick Places are not worth speaking of. In the City there are a great many Convents, which are generally very pretty; as well as their Gardens and Churches. The Cathedral Church call'd *La Ceu* is a huge and very Stately Edifice. The Church of

*Nuestra Señora de l' Pilar* is but very ordinary as to its Architecture. The Chappel indeed where that *Señora* stands is Curious, upon the account that 'tis under Ground. The *Spaniards* pretend that the Substance of which 'tis Built is unknown to all Mankind; but if 'twere not for their assertion, I should have took it for *Walnut-Tree*. This Chappel is thirty six Foot long, and twenty six Foot broad. 'Tis fill'd with Lamps, Banisters and Silver Candle-Sticks; and besides a great Altar, contains a great quantity of Feet, Hands, Hearts and Heads, which the Miracles of that *Virgin* drew to the Sacred Place: For you know the *Virgin* Works Miracles every day that surpass imagination. But the most solid thing about her, is an infinity of precious Stones of inestimable value, with which her Gown, Crown and Niche are Garnish'd. Besides these, there are two Churches here which were Built by the *Goths*, and are both Strong and Beautiful; having very pretty Vaults, which shew [276] that *that* People were perfectly well acquainted with *Stereometry*.

*Saragoza* is Seated on the River *Ebro*, which is as broad as the *Seyne* at *Paris*. It stands upon smooth level Ground, and is compass'd with a Wall that's Ruinous in several places. The People of *Arragon* put a mighty value upon a Stone-Bridge that's over that River; because they never saw many better: But they have more reason to value the Wooden-Bridge that lyes a little lower, for indeed 'tis one of the finest in *Europe*. This City affords *Academies* for the exercise both of the Body and the Mind; and above all, a fine *University* that may be call'd the best in *Spain* next to *Salamanca* and *Alcala des He-*

*nares.* The *Students* are generally Cloath'd like *Priests*, that is, with a long Cloak.

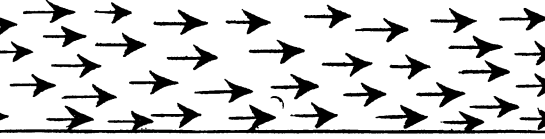
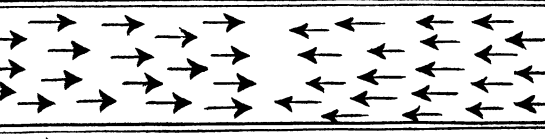
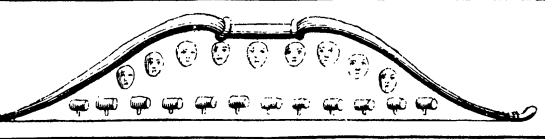
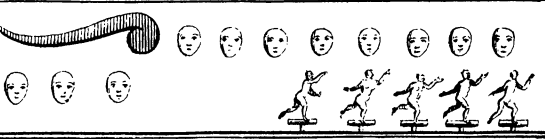
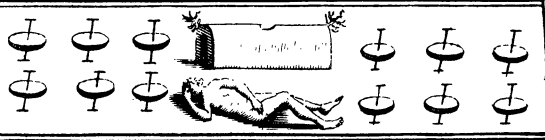
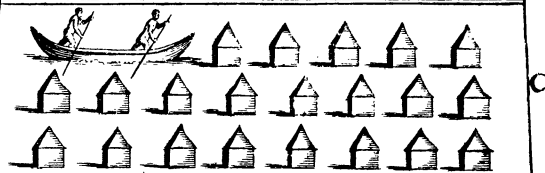
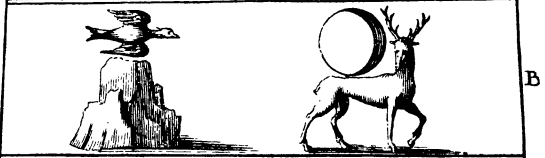
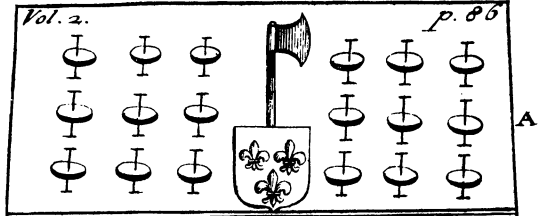
The Duke *de Jovenazo* is Viceroy of this Kingdom; and as I take it, that triennial Dignity is more Honourable than Beneficial, for it does not bring in above six thousand Crowns a Year. The Arch-Bishoprick is worth twenty thousand Crowns; but the present Arch-Bishop being a very good Man, distributes one third of his Revenue among the Poor. Tho' his Birth was obscure, yet he was *President* of one of the Councils of *Spain*, which perhaps occasion'd that natural Antipathy to the *French*, that he shews upon all occasions. The Canons of his Cathedral and those of *Notre dame de Pilier*, make a hundred Crowns a Month of their Canonships. The Minister

call'd \* *Ell justicia*, receives Appeals from all the Courts of *Arragon*. 'Tis from his Hands that the Kings of *Spain* receive a

drawn Sword, when they take the Oath to maintain the Privileges of the Kingdom, upon their Accession to the [277] Throne. This Ceremony is perform'd in the *Deputation-House*, which indeed is a wonderful Edifice. The *Salmedina* is a sort of Lieutenant-General, both Civil and Military. This Office, which bears both the Gown and the Sword,

is Triennial as well as that of his Deputy. The † *Parliament*.

† *Audiencia* consists of several Counsellours, who are as nice a sort of Men as our own. Besides these, there are five Sheriffs or *Jurates*, who hold their troublesome Posts but two years, and are properly the Civil Judges that take care of the Government of the City. In fine, I should never





have done, if I offer'd to give a particular Lift of all the Offices in this Kingdom.

Bread, Wine, Fowl, Partridges and Hares are very cheap in this place; but Butchers Meat is very dear, and good Fish is a rarity. The Strangers that Travel this way, are oblig'd to Lodge in certain Inns call'd by the *Spaniards*, *Mefon*; in which the Inn-Keeper furnishes nothing to his Guests but a Chamber, a Bed, a Stable, || Straw and

Barley. 'Tis true, the Servants buy || *There's nether Hay*  
what you please for you, and drefs it *nor Corn in Spain.*

as you order 'em, provided you require nothing but plain Boiling and Roasting. The *Arragon* Wines are sweet and strong, especially the Black sort, for the White is neither so strong nor so sweet. In the Summer time they have no other Diversion but Walking, and that towards the Evening, when the Gentlemen walk out of Town, as well as the Ladies, apart: But 'tis not the fresh Air so much as the warm breathing that they have in view. In Winter, they are entertain'd with Plays, which the *Priests* and *Friars* frequent without any Scruple. Every Night there's an Assembly or Meeting at the House of the Duke [278] of *Jovenazo*, where they Game, and Discourse and drink Chocolate or other Liquors: And the Persons of the first Rank are almost always there. They are honest and affable to the last degree. As for my own part, I have receiv'd very sensible Marks of their Friendship, particularly that of being regal'd in their Houses; which discovers to me that they are not so unfociable as they are represented to be. 'Tis true, that in publick the Smile never

unfurles their Brow, and no familiarity of Joy can oblige 'em to relent in their affected Gravity: But in private Conversation they are the heartiest People in the World; I mean, they are the briskest and merriest Companions that can be.

Almost all the People of *Arragon* are as lean as I am, and so, Sir, you may easily judge what a sort of Meen they have. They allege for the cause of their Leanness, that their Transpiration is great, that they Eat and Sleep but little, that their Passions are sprightly and violent; and in fine, that they dissipate their Spirits by exercises which the *French* do not follow so often. Their Complexion is as pale as mine; which perhaps is owing to these very exercises; at leastwise, 'tis *Ovid's* Opinion in saying [*Palleat omnis amor; Color hic est aptus amanti.*] Their Stature goes somewhat beyond the middling Standard. Their Hair is of a dark Chestnut colour, and their Complexion is as fair as that of the *Bearnese*.

All I have said of the People of *Arragon*, may be apply'd in particular to the Women as well as the Men; tho' indeed the former are not quite so lean as the latter. They can't be call'd handsome, but at the same time one can't avoid owning that they are agreeable and lovely. If Nature has been stingy and penurious in Forming their Throat and Fore-Head, she has been prodigal [276, *i. e.* 279] of her Gifts in giving 'em great sparkling Eyes, so full of Fire that they burn without mercy from top to toe all that approach to 'em. They are very much oblig'd to *Theano*, *Pythagoras's* Wife, for teaching 'em that their Sex was Born for no other end than for the agreeable Trade of loving and being lov'd. This soft Moral

suits their Complexion perfectly well; and accordingly they practise it to a Miracle: For in the Morning they run to Church, with intent to purchase Hearts rather than Paradise; and Dinner is no sooner over, than they go to Visit their She-Friends, who do mutual Services to one another in the way of Intrigue, by favouring the entry of their Lovers into one another's Houses, and that with a great deal of artifice and cunning. Contrivance is all in all in this Country; for the vertue of the Women lies in playing their Cards handsomely and dextrously, disguising the Intrigue, more than elsewhere. Their Husbands are plaguy Sharp-sighted, and if their Intrigues take but the least Air, they run the risque of taking a Journey to the other World, unless they flie to a Convent. 'Tis not above a Month and a half since I saw a Girl Stabb'd by her own Brother at Church, at the very foot of the Altar, for having entertain'd an amorous Correspondence. He had made a Journey from *Madrid* on purpose to do this mighty Exploit; for which he was Punish'd with two Months Imprisonment.

There has not been above eighteen or twenty design'd Murders and Affaffinations committed since I came hither; by reason that the Nights are as yet too short: But I am told that in Winter there never passes a Night without two or three such instances. 'Tis true, 'tis only the poor miserable Wretches of two Parishes in the City, who insult [280] one another at that rate; and are drove to that extremity by Feuds of ancient standing. The frequency of such disorders is owing to this, that a Man can't be condemn'd to die without great Evidence upon the matter, and that the Condemn'd Criminals



make use of the privileges of the Kingdom, to put off the Execution from Term to Term: By which means they get off at last for being turn'd over to the Gallies, which there are a thousand ways to get clear of: So that unless the Judge is Solicited against them by a strong Party, they always 'scape the Gallows.

As for Robbing in the Streets, they know nothing of it; and the Murders that happen have no relation to any intention of that Nature. I have frequently Walk'd home all alone at Midnight from the *Viceroy's* House, without meeting with any affront. 'Tis true, I discontinued that practice after the Persons of Quality advis'd me to go always in Company, lest the Assassins should mistake me for another. However, Persons of Note or Character have nothing to fear, unless they be imbarqu'd in some Amorous Intrigue; then indeed they run the risque of being Stabb'd in the Streets at Noon: So that a Man must either have his Wits about him, or else have recourse to common Whores, if he means to avoid such a fatal Exit. Now of these two Expedients the first is the best, because it preserves at once his Pocket and his Health.

The Nobility of *Arragon* is tolerably Rich; but they might be Richer if the Peasants of *Arragon* Work'd as hard as *ours*

do. These idle Fellows employ the  
 † *An Epithet they give to the French, which at the bottom signifies nothing at all.* † *Gavachos* (with whom *Spain* is plagued) to Manure their Grounds, and to Sow and Reap. The Vulgar People [281]

are of the Opinion that *France* is the worst Country in the World, because the *French* exchange it

for theirs: And indeed 'tis true, that the Labourers, the Reapers, the Fellers of Wood, and all sorts of Tradesmen, without mentioning the Coach-men, Foot-men and Water-bearers, come for the most part from *Bearn*, *Languedock*, and *Auvergne*. Here we meet with some *Bearn* Merchants who have enrich'd themselves by Trading to *France*: For notwithstanding the War, an open Commerce is still maintain'd. If the People of *Arragon* had their Wits about 'em, and had a mind to enrich their Country, they might easily compass their end.

The River of *Ebro* is Navigable from *Tortosa* to *Miranda d' Ebro*, by great flat bottom'd Boats, such as we have in the *Seyne*. A great many Persons who have come down the *Ebro*, have assur'd me that 'tis three Foot deep in the Shallowest places, and that its Current is very gentle: So that the only difficulty lies in finding a Road upon the Banks of the River, in order to drag up the Boats when they want to stem the Stream. The *French* bring hither a great many Mules and little Nags, upon which they gain *Cent per Cent*, all Charges discounted. These Mules are made use of to draw the Coaches and \* *Galeras*: For the *Estramadura* Mules are very dear, and do not thrive in this Country so well as in the Southern Countries of *Spain*. As for the little Galloway's, they commonly sell best in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, where the Peasants employ 'em for different uses. The Coaches of that Country are much of the same Form with our Travelling-Coaches in *France*; and they go so

\* Great Carts drawn by eight Mules, which hold eight hundred weight.

very slowly that they would not drive round the Town in the longest Summer's day. The custom [282] of Visiting upon Horfe-Back, prevails here as well as in *Portugal*. The Gentlemen and Officers are drefs'd after the *French* way; for they find the *Spanish* Habit unfufferable, by reason of the *Golilla*, or a sort of Collar, in which the Neck is so lac'd up, that they can't turn or bow the Head.

The Women's Garb seems ridiculous to Strangers, tho' at the bottom 'tis not such. I am already convinc'd that 'tis infinitely preferable to *ours*. The *Spanish* Women can't cover any defect of Nature; for they wear neither Hoods, Heels, nor Whale-bone Bodice. Were the *French* Ladies oblig'd to go in this fashion, 'twould not be in their Power to deceive so many Men by their artificial Towers, their Shooe-Heels and their false Hips. 'Tis true, the *Spanish* Women may be censur'd for discovering their Shoulders and half their Arms: But at the same time, the *French* must not go uncheck'd for exposing to open eye two parts that are at once more sensible and more tempting; for if it be alleg'd that the former give offence backwards, by the same justice it may be reply'd that the latter scandalise before. In fine, as the Women of this Country lye under restraints, so they have the satisfaction of being very much respected; for when they pass along the Streets either in Coach or on Foot, with their Face uncover'd, every body stops to make 'em a Bow, which they answer by bowing the Head without bending the Knee. Their Gentlemen-Ushers, who are always old Fellows past the reach of Suspicion, give 'em their bare hand; for such is the *Spanish*

way: And these are the only priviledg'd Persons that have the benefit of touching their hands; for when a *Cavalier* happens accidentally to be near the *Holy Water* while a Lady offers to come to it, he [283] shakes his Beads in the Water, in order to present 'em to her. The same is the case in Dancing, which do's not happen often: For the Gentleman and the Lady come no nearer than the two ends of a Handkerchief, by which they hold; and so you may guess how Buffing would go down in this Country.

I must tell you, the *Spaniards* are not so stern and unsofiable as they are represented; which you'll perceive from a slender account of their way of Entertainment. A Gentleman that I met frequently at the *Viceroy's*, and at the *Academies*, did me the honour to Visit me; and I return'd his Compliment in the same way. When I came to return the Visit, he receiv'd me at the Stair-Head, and conducted me to a Hall, where we convers'd for half an hour; after which I ask'd how his Lady did, and he made answer, *that he believ'd she was so well as to receive us in her Chamber*. This done, the Chocolate and Biskuyts began to appear; upon which the Gentleman rose and introduc'd me to his Lady's Chamber. The Lady stood up till we made our Honours, and sat down upon her *Sofa*, while Chairs were setting for us. I told her I was infinitely oblig'd to her Husband for procuring me the honour of Saluting her. She made answer; *that he look'd upon me as a Spaniard*. After that we drank some Chocolate, and she ask'd me if I lik'd it, and whether the *French* Ladies us'd to drink it. This Interview lasted but half a quarter of an hour, for

being affraid of infringing upon the *Spanish* Formalities, I rose, and after taking leave walk'd out of the Room with her Husband, who invited me to Dinner. We walk'd till Dinner time in the Garden, and after the Gentleman had shewn me his Horfes, we went up again to the Hall, where the Table Cloath was laid: In [284] a moment in came the Lady, and Saluting us after her way, took her place on one side of the Table, as we did on the other. First of all, they serv'd up *Melons, Raisins, Nectarines, and Figs*; then every one had his Commons set before him, (like a *Monk's* Mefs) consisting of a Breast of Mutton Roasted in the first Service, a Partridge and a Pigeon Roasted in the second, and a Rabbet Pye in the third, a Fricassee of Fowl in the fourth,

\* *A sort of Mushrooms red on the upper side, and yellow underneath.*

\* *Oranges* surrounded with little Trouts of the bigness of one's Finger in the fifth, and an Appricock Tart in the sixth: And after all, we had a sort of Soupe as yellow as the Saffron with which 'twas cram'd. This, Sir, was the just Bill of Fare for every one's Mefs. In the mean time, we talk'd of nothing but the *French* Ladies. The Lady alleg'd that in *France*, the great Liberty allow'd to the Men in visiting the Ladies, and Playing or Walking with 'em, expos'd the Wifest and most Vertuous Women to the affronts of indiscreet and detracting Persons, who to make themselves pass for Men of happy Intrigues, defame the Ladies that resist 'em. In fine, after we had rail'd against the Husbands that tamely put up such affronts, instead of resenting 'em, we rose from

Table: So she took leave after the usual way, and retir'd to her Chamber. When I came to take leave of the Gentleman, he walk'd before me to the Head of the Stairs, where he stop'd on the left hand, leaving me the right while I bid him Adieu. There he stood till I got at the foot of the Stairs, upon which he gave me his Hat once more, and so we lost sight of one another.

[285] I thought it proper to give you the History of this Adventure, that you may thereby know how the *Spaniards* treat their Friends. If a hundred Gentlemen had regal'd me at so many several times, there would have been no difference, unless it be as to the goodness of the Cheer; for the Ceremony is the same in one House that you have in another. So that by this description, you know all that's usual in *Spain* upon such occasions. I believe I have acquainted you that the *Spanish* Women look upon us as an indiscreet sort of People, and perhaps they are not much out in their thoughts; for all the Women of *Europe* speak of us at the same rate. I'll present you with some *Spanish* Verses that a foolish sort of a Poet made upon that Head above fifty years ago.

*Los Discretos Espanoles  
A Los Maridos Zelozos  
Hazen en Callados Gozos  
Orejus de Caracoles;  
No san Tales les francezes  
Tanto no pueden Cubrir  
Antes Mas quieren Mil Vezes.  
No hazer que no desir.*

That is to say in good Prose. *The discreet Spaniards assist the Women to cuckold their Husbands by secret Imbraces; whereas the French can conceal nothing, for they'd choose a thousand times rather to be without the Adventure, than not to speak of it.*

This, Sir, is much of a piece with the Argument of that *Huron*, who alledges that we glory in requiting a Lady's Favour with a piece of Ingratitude, that tarnishes her Reputation to all intents and purposes. This caution may teach the Women not to confide in rattle brain'd Fellows. A Woman of Sense will easily find out the Character [286] of a Man, when she has a mind to give her self the trouble of inspecting his conduct. Tho' our young Sparks are Fools, yet the Ladies choose 'em before wiser Men; because Wisdom do's not take place till Nature begins to run low.

The indiscreet Tongue of a young *Cavalier*, do's a considerable injury to his Mistress: But at the same time, your Chamber-Maids and Confidants, are not less guilty. We have frequent instances of Women that lose themselves by neglecting a due Precaution with reference to their Domesticks. I call that Woman a Wise Woman that knows how to cover her Folly handsomely. Now, this is one of the first Accomplishments of your *Spanish* Women, who by that means oblige their Husbands very much; for tho' the Adventure makes the Cuckold, 'tis the Noise that makes the *Horns*. With this Lucky Word I conclude my Letter, intreating you would Write to me to *Bilbao*, for I design to go thither with the first opportunity. From thence I intend to Sweep (either by Sea

or Land) along the *Maritime* Coast, as far as *Portugal*, in order to view the Ports and Havens, I have so often heard of. I shall take more pleasure in that discovery, than in seeing the finest Cities of the World: And thus you see there's no disputing a Man out of his relish.

*I am,*

*S I R,*

*Yours, &c.*



[287] A Short  
DICTIONARY  
Of the most Universal  
LANGUAGE  
OF THE  
SAVAGES.

---

I COULD easily have sent you a compleat *Dictionary* of all the Savage Words, without excepting one, and of several curious Phrases: But I consider'd 'twould be of no use to you, it being sufficient to see the common Words that are every Moment in their Mouths. This is enough for any Man that designs for *Canada*, for if he does but learn in his Passage those I have set down, he will be able to Converse with the Savages, after frequenting their Company two or three Months.

There are but two Mother Tongues in the whole extent

of *Canada*, which I confine within the Limits of *Missipi*<sup>1</sup>; but beyond that River there's an infinity of other Languages that few *Europeans* could yet learn, by reason of the little Correspondence they have with the Savages of those Parts. The two Mother Tongues I [288] speak of, are the *Huron* and the *Algonkin*. The first is understood by the *Iroquese*, for the difference betwixt the *Huron* and the *Iroquese* Language is not greater than that between the *Norman* and the *French*: And some Savages on the Confines of *New York* speak a Language that is very near the same. The *Andastoguerons*, *Torontoguerons*, *Errieronons*, and several other Savage Nations whom the *Iroquese* have totally destroy'd, spoke likewise the same Tongue, and understood one another perfectly well.<sup>2</sup> The Second, namely the *Algonkine*, is as much esteem'd among the Savages, as the *Greek* and *Latin* is in *Europe*; tho' 'twould seem that the *Algonkins*, to whom it owes its Original, disgrace it by the thinness of the Nation, for their whole number does not exceed two Hundred.

<sup>1</sup> From the inception of their endeavors to convert the American tribes, the study of Indian linguistics necessarily occupied much attention on the part of the Jesuit missionaries of New France. Their narratives abound in descriptions of the native tongues, and the difficulties connected with acquiring them. They early recognized as the fundamental basis of their studies, the two stocks which Lahontan here describes. Different fathers devoted themselves to researches and compilations in each division of the great task. Brébeuf and Le Jeune, in particular, were authorities upon the Huron-Iroquois; André, upon the Algonquian tongue. In 1653 it was declared in the *Relations* that grammars and dictionaries were available for both of these linguistic types — *Jes. Rel.*, xxxix, p. 121. How far Lahontan was indebted to the Jesuits for his knowledge, and how far it was based solely on personal contact with the aborigines, is not clearly to be determined. His facility in the languages of the savages is evident throughout his narrative. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> For these tribes, see p. 320, note 1, *ante*. — ED.

You must know that all the Languages of *Canada*, excepting the *Huron* and those which retain to it, come as near to the *Algonkine*, as the *Italian* to the *Spanish*; and 'tis for that reason that all the Warriours and ancient Counsellors of so many different Nations affect to speak it with all manner of nicety. 'Tis so necessary to Travellers in that Country, that in speaking it one is certain of making himself to be understood by all sorts of Savages in whatsoever place he comes to, whether in *Acadia* or *Hudson's Bay*, or upon the Lakes, or even among the *Iroquese*, among whom a great many have learn'd it for Reasons of State, notwithstanding that it differs from theirs more widely than Night from Day.<sup>1</sup>

The *Algonkine* Language has neither *Tone* nor *Accent*, nor superfluous dead Letters; so that 'tis as easie to pronounce it as to write it. 'Tis not Copious, no more than the other Languages of *America*; for the People of that Continent are [289] Strangers to Arts and Sciences, they are unacquainted with the Laws of Ceremony and Complement, and an infinity of Words that the *Europeans* use to imbellish their Discourse. Their Speech is only adapted to the Necessities and Conveniences of Life, and there is not one useless or superfluous Word in the whole Language. Farther, this Tongue makes no use either of F or V Consonant.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the widespread utility of the Algonquian language, especially in its Chippewa form, which is considered the oldest and purest, see "J. Long's Voyages," in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, ii, pp. 28-30. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> For the Algonquian tongue, and the early studies thereof by English colonists, see the works of John Eliot, Roger Williams, and Jonathan Edwards as indicated in Pilling, *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages* (Washington, 1891). — Ed.

To the end of the *Dictionary* I have added the four Tenses of the *Indicative* of the Verb, *I love*. The *Indicative* is form'd from the *Infinitive*, by adding the Personal Note *ni*, which signifies *me* or *I*. Thus, *Sakia* signifies *to love*, and *Nisakia*, *I love*. The same is the case with all the other Verbs.

'Tis an easie matter to conjugate the Verbs of this Language after one has learn'd the Present Tense of the Indicative Mood. To the Imperfect Tense they add *Ban*, as *Sakiaban*, *I lov'd*; to the Perfect Tense they add *ki* after the personal mark, as *ni kifakia*, *I have lov'd*, and to the Future *ga* in like manner, as *ni gafakia* or *nin gafakia*, *I shall love*. All the other Tenses of the Verb are form'd from the Present of the Indicative, for Example, *Ningafakiaban*, *I would love*, *Ninkifakiaban*, *I should have lov'd*. In a Word, when the Present of the Indicative, and the additional Particles for the other Tenses, are once known, the whole Language may be learn'd in a very little time. As for the Imperative 'tis form'd by prefixing *A* to the Infinitive, as *Afakia*, *love thou*, and the Plural, *let us love*, is form'd by subjoyning *Ta* to the Infinitive, as *Sakiata*, *let us love*. It remains only to shew the Personal Notes, *viz*.

[290] I or Me, *Nir*,  
Thee or Thou, *Kir*,  
He or Him, *Ouir*.  
We, *Niraoueint*.

You, *Kiraoua*.  
You and We, *Kiraoueint*.  
They or Them, *Ouiroua*.

## A

**A** Bandon or forsake, I abandon, *Packitan*.  
 Above, *Spimink*.  
 Admirable, 'tis admirable (the Savages speak it by way of Derision) *Pilaoua*.  
 Afterwards, *Mipidach*.  
 All, *Kakina*.  
 All of 'em, *Miffoute*.  
 All in all, *Alouch bogo*.  
 Always, *Kakeli*.  
 Amifs, that's amifs, 'tis good for nothing, *Napitch Malatat*.  
 And, *Gaye* or *Mipigaye*.  
 Arrive, I arrive, *Takouchin*.  
 Ashes, Powder, Duft, *Pingoe*.  
 Assist or Aid, *Maouineoua*.  
 Ax, a great Ax, *Agackouet*.  
 A little Ax, *Agackouetons*.

## B

**B** Ag, a Tobacco bag, *Cafpitagan*.  
 Ball, *Alouin*.  
 Barrel, *Aoyentagan*.

Beat, I beat, *Packite*.  
 A Bear, *Mackoua*.  
 A little Bear, *Makons*.  
 Beard, *Mischiton*.  
 Beaver, the Animal, *Amik*.  
 Beaver-Skin, *Apiminikoue*.  
 to Be or rest, *Tapia*.  
 Because, *Miouinch*.  
 to Believe, *Tilerima*.  
 Belly, *Mischimout*.  
 Black, *Markate*.  
 Blood, *Miscoue*.  
 Body, *Tao*.  
 Bottle, *Chichigoue*.  
 Brother, *Nicanich*.  
 Brandy, the juice or Broth of Fire, *Scoutiouabou*.  
 Brave Soldier, *Simaganis*.  
 Bread, *Pa-bouchikan*.  
 Brech, *Miscoasab*.  
 [291] Breeches, a circumlocution for the covering of the Brech, *Kipokitie Koasab*.  
 Broth or Juice, *Ouabou*.  
 Buck, *Ouaskech*.  
 Buckler, *Pakakoa*.  
 Build, to build Vessels or Canoes, *Chimanike*.

C

**C**All, to call or name, *Ticki-nika*.  
 Candle, to snuff the Candle, to stir up the Fire, *Ouafacolendamaoua*.  
 Canou, *Cbiman*.  
 Captain, Leader, *Okima*.  
 to Carry, *Pitou* or *Pita*.  
 Caldron, *Akik*.  
 Change, I change, *Miscoutch*.  
 Child, little Children, *Bobilouchins*.  
 Coat, *Capotiouian*.  
 Cold, I am cold, *Kikatch*.  
 Come on, *Mappe*.  
 to Come, *Pimatcha*.  
 Comrade, at my Comrade's House, *Nitche, Nitcbikoue*.  
 Concern'd or disquieted, *Talimiffi*.  
 Corn, *Malomin*.  
 Covering, a white Woollen Covering, *Ouabiouian*.  
 Country, *Endalakian*.  
 Courage, I have Courage, *Tagouamiffi*.  
 C \* *Maskimout*.  
 Cup made of Bark, *Oulagan*.

D

**A**Dab, *Malamek*.  
 Dance, I dance, *Nimi*.  
 Dance of the Savages to the Sound of Gourds, *Chicbikoue*.  
 Dart, I dart, *Patchipaoua*.  
 Day, to day, *Ningom*.  
 One day, *Okonogat*.  
 Dead, *Nipouin*.  
 Devil, Evil Spirit, *Matchi Manitou*.  
 Die, I die, *Nip*.  
 Dish of Maple Wood, *Soule Mickoan*.  
 Dog, *Alim*.  
 Little Dog, *Alimons*.  
 Do, I do, *Tochiton*.  
 Done, 'tis done, *Chaye*.  
 Doubtless, *Antetatouba*.  
 Dressed Meat: I do the Kettle, (a Phrase) *Poutaoue*.  
 Drink, I drink, *Minikoue*.  
 Drunken, a Fool, *Oufskouebi*.  
 Duck, *Chicbip*.

[292] E

**E**Ach or every one, *Pepegik*.  
 Earth, *Acke* or *Ackouin*.

to Eat, *Ouiffin*.  
 Elsewhere, *Coutadibi*.  
 English, *Ouatfakamink*, *Dach-  
 irini*.  
 Enough, 'tis enough, *Mimilic*.  
 Equal or like one another,  
*Tabiscoutch*.  
 Esteem, I esteem or honour,  
*Napitelima*.  
 Eyes, *Ouskinbic*.

## F

**F** All, to fall, *Pankifin*.  
 Far off, *Ouatfa*.  
 Fast, to go fast, *Ouelibick*.  
 Fat, *Pimite*.  
 Father, my Father, *Noufse*.  
 Fatigued, I am fatigu'd, *Tak-  
 ouffi*.  
 Few or little, *Me Mangis*.  
 Fields sown, *Kitteganink*.  
 to Find, *Nantouneoua*.  
 Fire, *Scoute*.  
 to strike Fire with a Stone,  
*Scoutecke*.  
 Firelock, *Scoutekan*.  
 Fish, *Kikons*.  
 White Fish, *Attikamec*.  
 Fork, *Nassaouakouat*.  
 Formerly, *Piraouigo*.  
 Fort or Fortrefs, *Ouackaigan*.

Fortify, I make Forts, *Ouac-  
 kaiké*.  
 Forwards in the Wood, *Nope-  
 menk*.  
 A Fowl, *Pilé*.  
 France, the Country of the  
*French*, *Mittigouchiouek*, *En-  
 dalakiank*.  
 The *French*, term'd Builders  
 of Ships, *Mittigouch*.  
 to Freeze, *Kiffin*.  
 It freezes hard, *Kiffina Magat*.  
 Full, *Mouskinet*.  
 Fufee, *Paskifigan*.

## G

**G** Irle, *Ickoueffens*.  
 Give, I give, *Mila*.  
 Glafs, a Looking-glafs, *Oua-  
 bemo*.  
 Go by Water, *Pimisca*.  
 God of Heaven, Master of  
 Life; Great Spirit; the un-  
 known Being, *Kitchimanitou*.  
 Good, *Kouelatch*.  
 Govern, I Govern, *Tiberima*.  
 [293] Governor General of  
*Canada*, *Kitchiokimafimagan-  
 ich*, i. e. great Captain of  
 War.  
 Grape, *Choemin*.

Great in the way of Merit,  
Valour, Courage, &c. *Kitchi.*  
Great in Stature, *Mentitou.*  
Greedy, *Safakiffi.*  
Gut, *Olabich.*

H

**H**Air, *Liffis.*  
Hair of Beasts *Piouel.*  
Half, *Nabal.*  
Handsome, Proper, *Safega.*  
Hare, *Ouapous.*  
Hart, *Micheoue.*  
Hate, I Abhor, *Cbinguerima.*  
Have, to have, *Tindala.*  
Head, *Ouficouan.*  
Heaven, the upper Earth,  
*Spiminkakouin.*  
Herb, *Mijask.*  
Here, *Achonda* or *Achomanda.*  
Hidden, *Kimouch.*  
Home, at my House, *Entayant.*  
To Honour, *Mackaouala.*  
Hot, *Akicbatte.*  
How, *Tani.*  
How many, *Tanfou*, or *Tanimilik.*  
Hungry, I am hungry, *Packate.*  
Hunt, I hunt, *Kiouffe.*  
*Hurons*, the People, *Nadouck.*  
Hut, *Ouikiouam.*

I.

**J**Efuit, Black Gown, *Mackate*  
*ockola.*  
Island, *Minis.*  
Immediately, *Ouibatch.*  
Impostor, *Malatiffi.*  
Indian Corn, *Mittamin.*  
Intirely, *Napitch.*  
Iron, *Piouabick.*  
*Iroquefe*, in the Plural Num-  
ber, *Matchinadoaek.*

K.

**K**Eep, I keep, *Ganaouerima.*  
Kettle, *Akikons.*  
King of *France*, the Great  
Head of the *French*, *Mittigouch Kitchi Okima.*  
Knife, *Mockoman.*  
A Crooked Knife, *Coutagan.*  
[294] Know, I know, *Kikerima.*  
To know, *Kikerindan.*

L.

**L**Ake, great Lake, *Kitchi-*  
*gamink.*  
Lame, *Kakikatè.*  
Land Carriage, *Cappatagan.*  
To Laugh, *Papi.*  
Lazy, *Kittimi.*



To Leave, *Packitan* :  
 Letter, *Mafignaygan*.  
 Liberal, *Oualatiffi*.  
 Life, *Nouchimouin*.  
 Light, splendor, *Venclao*.  
 Little, *Ouabiloucheins*.  
 To Live, *Noutchimou*.  
 Long since, 'tis long ago,  
*Cbachayè*.  
 Lose at play, I lose, *Packilague*.  
 Love, to love, *Sakia*.  
 To ly down, *Ouipema*.

## M.

**M**ale, *Nape*.  
 Malicious, cheating, one that  
 has an Ill Heart, *Malatchi-  
 tebe*.  
 Man, *Alifnape*.  
 March, I march, *Pimouffe*.  
 Marry, I take a Woman,  
*Ouiouin*.  
 Married Man, *Napema*.  
 Meat, *Oūias*.  
 A Med'cine, or Potion, *Mas-  
 kikik*.  
 To meet *Nantouneoua*.  
 Merchandize Goods, *Alokat-  
 cbigan*.  
 Mistrifs, or She-Friend, *Niri-  
 mousens*.

Moon, the Star of the Night,  
*Debikat Ikizis*.  
 to Morrow, *Ouabank*.  
 The Day after to Morrow,  
*Oufouabank*.  
 A Mortar of Wood for beat-  
 ing Indian Corn, *Poutagan*.  
 Much, *Nibila*.

## N

**N**ations, People, *Irini*.  
 Near, *Pebouetch*.  
 Needle, a sewing Needle, *Cba-  
 bonikan*.  
 Never, *Kaouicka*.  
 News, *Tepatchimou-kan*.  
 I bring News, *Tepatchimou*.  
 Night, *Debikat*.  
 No, *Ka*.  
 No body, *Kagouetch* or *Kaouia*.  
 Nose, *Yach* :  
 Not at all, *Kamamenda* or  
*Kagouetch*.  
 Not yet, *Ka maschi*.  
 Nothing, *Kakegou*.

## [295] O

**O**AR, *Appoue*.  
 Old, *Kioucheins*.  
 One-Eyed, *Paskingoe*.

Original, Elk, *Mons.*  
A young and little Elk, *Man-  
ichich.*  
Other, *Coutac.*  
Otter, *Nikik.*

P

**P**AP, or the juice of the  
Meal of *Indian* Corn, *Mit-  
aminabou.*  
Part, in what part, *Tanipi.*  
Partridges, *Pilefioue.*  
Pay, I pay, *Tipabam.*  
Peace, *Peca.*  
to make Peace, *Pecatechi.*  
Peninsula, *Miniffin.*  
Persuasion, *Tirerigan.*  
Pike, Fish, *Kinonge.*  
Pipe, Calumet, *Poagan.*  
to Pifs, *Minfi.*  
Pity, to take pity, *Chaouerima.*  
to Play, *Packigoue.*  
to Please one, I please, *Marou-  
erindan.*  
Porcelain Beads, *Aouies.*  
Powder, Gunpowder, *Pingoe,  
Mackate.*  
To pour out, *Sibikinan.*  
To pray to God, *Talamia Kit-  
chimanitou.*

Present, at present, *Nougam.*  
Presently, *Ouibatch.*  
Petty, *Olichichin.*  
P\*, *Patchagon.*  
Proper, Handsome, *Safega.*  
to Pursue, *Nopinala.*  
I put away (a term used for  
a Man's putting away his  
Wife) *Ouebinan.*

Q.

**Q**UICKLY, *Kegatchb.*

R

**R**AIN, *Kimiouan.*  
Red Colour, *Miscoue.*  
Red Powder, esteemed by the  
Savages *Oulaman.*  
to Regard, *Ouabemo.*  
to Regrate, *Kouiloma.*  
Relation, Kinsman, *Taouema.*  
Resolve, I resolve, *Tibelin-  
dan.*  
to Respect, *Tabamica.*  
to Rest or Repose, *Chink-  
chin.*  
Right, to be in the right,  
*Tepoa.*  
A Ring, *Dibilinchibifon.*

River, *Sipim*.  
 Robe, *Ockola*.  
 Root, *Oufikoues*.  
 Row, to row, *Tapoue*.  
 to Run, *Pitchibat*.  
 Run to, I run to, *Pitchiba*.

## [296] S

**S**Able, *Negao*.  
 Sack, *Maskimout*.  
 Sad, to be sad, *Talimiffi*.  
 Sail, I fail, *Pimifca*.  
 to Salute, *Mackaouala*.  
 Say, I say, *Tila*.  
 He says, says he, (a very usual  
 Word) *Youa*.  
 Sea, a great Lake without lim-  
 its, *Agankitchigamink*.  
 To see, *Ouabemo*.  
 Seek, I seek, *Nantaouerima*.  
 Sense, to have sense, *Nabou-  
 acka*.  
 Ship, or Great Canow, *Kitchi  
 Cbiman*.  
 Shirt, *Papakiouian*.  
 Shoes, *Mackifin*.  
 Sick, *Outineous*.  
 Side, on the other side, *Gaa-  
 mink*.

Since, *Mipidach*.  
 To sing, *Cbichin*.  
 Skin, *Pacbikin*.  
 Slave, *Ouackan*.  
 Sleep, *Nipa*.  
 Smoak, I smoak Tobacco, *Pen-  
 takoe*.  
 To make a Smoak, *Sagassfoa*.  
 Softly, *Peccabogo*.  
 Sons, *Nitiani*.  
 Sorry, I am sorry, *Iskatiffi*.  
 Soldier, *Simaganich*.  
 To Speak, *Galoula*.  
 Spirit, an Intelligent Invisible  
 Being, *Manitou*.  
 Spoon, *Mickouan*.  
 Spring-time, *Mirockamink*.  
 Star, *Alank*.  
 To steal, *Kimoutin*.  
 Stockings, Hose, *Mitas*.  
 Stone, *Affin*.  
 Strong, firm, hard, *Mascb-  
 kaoua*.  
 A Strong-man, *Machkaoueffi*.  
 Very strong, *Magat*.  
 Surgeon, Fish, *Lamek*.  
 Sun, *Kifis*.  
 Sweat, to sweat, *Matoutou*.  
 Sword, *Simagan*.  
 Surprising, 'tis surprising or  
 wonderful, *Etteouè*.

T.

**T** Obacco, *Sema*.  
 Take, I take, *Takouan*.  
 Take hold, *Emanda*.  
 Teeth, *Tibit*.  
 That, *Maba*.  
 There, that way, *Mandadibi*.  
 There, at a distance, *Ouatfa-*  
*dibi*.  
 [297] To Think or entertain  
 an Opinion, *Tilelindan*.  
 This, *Manda*.  
 This way, *Undach*.  
 On this side, *Undachdibi*.  
 Time, a long time ago, *Chach-*  
*ayè*, *Piraouigo*.  
 Together, *Mamaouè*.  
 Tongue, *Outan*.  
 Too Little, *Offame Mangis*.  
 Too much, *Offani*.  
 To Truck *Tataouan*.  
 Truly *Keket*.  
 A Turtle-Dove, *Mimi*.  
 Tyr'd, I am tyr'd, *Takonfi*.

W.

**W** Alk, I walk, *Tija*.  
 Value, it is a valuable Thing,  
*Arimat*.

Water, *Nibi*.  
 War, *Nantobali*.  
 To make War, *Nantoubalima*.  
 Warriors, *Nantobalitchick*.  
 Way, or Road, *Mickan*.  
 Well, that is well, *Oüeoüelim*.  
 Well, well, what then? *Acbin-*  
*dach*.  
 Well then, *Taninentien*.  
 What's that? *Ouaneouine*.  
 What has he? *Kekouanen*.  
 Whence, *Tanipi*.  
 Whence come ye? *Tanipi*  
*Endayenk*.  
 Where? *Ta*.  
 Where is he? *Tanipi Api*.  
 While, *Megaotch*.  
 White, *Ouabi*.  
 Whither do you go? *Taga*  
*Kitiga*.  
 Who's that? *Ouaneouine maba*.  
 Why? *Tanientien*.  
 Wicked, in speaking of the  
*Iroquese*, *Malataffi*.  
 Will, *Ouisch*.  
 Village, *Oudenanc*.  
 Win at play, I win, *Packitan*.  
 Wind, *Loutin*.  
 Wine, the Juice or Broath of  
 Grapes, *Choeminabou*.  
 Vifit, to pay a Vifit, *Piametiffa*.

Winter, *Pipoun*.I Winter, or pafs the Winter,  
*Pipounichi*.To underftand, *Nifitotaoua*.Wolf, *Mabingan*.Woman, *Ickoue*.Wood for Firing, *Mittik*.Write, I write, *Mafinaike*.

Y.

Y Eellow, *Ouzao*.Yes, *Mi*, or *Mincouti*.Yes, indeed, *Ante*, or *Sankema*.Yesterday, *Pitchilago*.Yet, *Minaouatch*.Young, *Ouskinekiſſi*.

[298] I fhall here content my ſelf in giving you the four *Tenſes* of the *Indicative Mood* of one *Verb*; by a view of which you may form the *Conjugation* of the other *Moods*. 'Twere eaſy to enlarge upon this Subject; but if I offer'd to launch out, the multiplicity of things that fall in the way, would oblige me to Write a formal *Grammar*.

To love, *Sakia*.

Preſent

I love, *Nifakia*.Thou loveſt, *Ki ſakia*.He loves, *Ou ſakia*.We love, *Ni ſakiamin*.Ye love, *Kiſakiaoua*.We and you love, *Kiſakiamin-*  
*aoua*.They love, *Sakiaouak*.

Imperfect.

I loved, *Ni ſakiaban*.Thou lovd'ſt, *Ki ſakiaban*.He lov'd, *Ou ſakiaban*.We lov'd, *Ni ſaikaiminaban*.You lov'd, *Ki ſakiaouaban*.We and you lov'd, *Kiſakimin-*  
*aouaban*.They lov'd, *Sakiabanik*.I have lov'd, *Ni kiſakia*.Thou haſt lov'd, *Ki kiſakia*.He has lov'd, *Ou kiſakia*.We have lov'd, *Ni kiſakiamin*.You have lov'd, *Ki kiſakiaoua*.We and you have lov'd, *Ki*  
*kiſakiaminaoua*.They have lov'd, *Kiſakiaouak*.

I shall love, <i>Ningafakia</i> .	We and you shall love, <i>Ki</i>
Thou shalt love, <i>Ki gafakia</i> .	<i>gafakiaminaoua</i> .
He shall love, <i>Ou gafakia</i> .	They shall love, <i>Gafakiaouak</i> .
We shall love, <i>Nin gafakiamin</i> .	Love thou, <i>Afakia</i> .
You shall love, <i>Ki gafakiaoua</i> .	Let us love, <i>Afakiata</i> .

As for the *Nouns* they are not declin'd at all. The plural number is form'd by a *k*. added to a singular, ending in a *Vowel*, as *Alifsnape* signifies a Man, and *Alifsnapek* several Men. If the *Noun* [299] ends with a *Consonant*, the plural is form'd by the addition of *ik* ; as *Minis* signifies an Isle, and *Miniffik* Isles ; *Paskifgan* a Fufee, and *Paskifiganik* a plurality of Fufees.

The *Algonkin* way of Counting.

ONE, <i>Pegik</i> .	Sixteen, <i>Mitaffou acbi ningotou-</i>
TWO, <i>Nincb</i> .	<i>affou</i> .
Three, <i>Niffoue</i> .	Seventeen, <i>Mitaffou acbi nin-</i>
Four, <i>Neou</i> .	<i>choaffou</i> .
Five, <i>Naran</i> .	Eighteen, <i>Mitaffou acbi niffou-</i>
Six, <i>Ningoutouaffou</i> .	<i>affou</i> .
Seven, <i>Nincbouaffou</i> .	Nineteen, <i>Mitaffou acbi chang-</i>
Eight, <i>Niffouaffou</i> .	<i>affou</i> .
Nine, <i>Cbangaffou</i> .	Twenty, <i>Ninchtana</i> .
Ten, <i>Mittaffou</i> .	Twenty one, <i>Ninchtana acbi</i>
Eleven, <i>Mittaffou acbi pegik</i> .	<i>pegik</i> .
Twelve, <i>Mitaffou acbi nincb</i> .	Twenty two, <i>Ninchtana acbi</i>
Thirteen, <i>Mitaffou acbi niffoue</i> .	<i>nincb</i> .
Fourteen, <i>Mitaffou acbi neou</i> .	Twenty three, <i>Nichtana acbi</i>
Fifteen, <i>Mitaffou acbi naran</i> .	<i>niffoue</i> .

Twenty four, <i>Ninchtana acbi neou.</i>	Thirty, <i>Nissouemitana.</i>
Twenty five, <i>Ninchtana acbi naran.</i>	Thirty one, <i>Nissouemitana acbi pegik, &amp;c.</i>
Twenty six, <i>Ninchtana acbi ningoutouaffou.</i>	Forty, <i>Neoumitana.</i>
Twenty seven, <i>Ninchtana acbi ninchoaffou.</i>	Fifty, <i>Naran mitana.</i>
Twenty eight, <i>Ninchtana acbi nissouaffou.</i>	Sixty, <i>Ningoutouaffou mitana.</i>
Twenty nine, <i>Ninchtana acbi changaffou.</i>	Seventy, <i>Ninchoaffou mitana.</i>
	Eighty, <i>Nissouaffou mitana.</i>
	Ninety, <i>Changaffou mitana.</i>
	A hundred, <i>Mitaffou mitana.</i>
	A thousand, <i>Mitaffou mitaffou mitana.</i>

[300] If you can once count to a hundred, 'tis easy to count by tens from a thousand to a hundred thousand, which number is in a manner unknown to the *Savages*, and by consequence not us'd in their Language.

You must take care to pronounce fully all the letters of the Words, and to rest upon the *A*'s that come at the end. The pronunciation is very easy, because this Language has no Guttural or Palate Letters, such as the *Spanish J Consonant* with their *G* and their *H*, as well as the *English th*, which puts a Foreigner's Tongue upon the rack.

I can't pass by one curious Remark touching the Language of the *Hurons* and the *Iroquese*; namely, that it do's not use the Labial Letters, viz. *b, f, m, p*. And yet the *Huron's* Language appears to be very pretty, and sounds admirably well, notwithstanding that the *Hurons* never shut their Lips when they speak.

Commonly the *Iroquese* make use of it in their Harangues and Councils, when they enter upon a Negotiation with the

*French* or *English*. But in their Domestick Interviews they speak their Mother Tongue.

None of the Savages of *Canada* care to speak *French*, unless they are persuaded that the force of their Words will be perfectly understood. They must be very well satisfied upon that Head before they venture to expose themselves in speaking their mind in *French*; abating for some cases of necessity, when they are in Company with the *Coueurs de Bois* that do not understand their Language.

To return to the *Huron* Language; we must consider that since neither the *Hurons* nor the *Iroquese* use the Labial Letters, 'tis impossible for [301] either of 'em to learn *French* well. I have spent four days in trying to make the *Hurons* pronounce the Labial Letters, but I could not accomplish it; nay, I am of the Opinion that in ten years time they would not learn to pronounce these Words, *Bon, Fils, Monsieur, Ponchartrain*: For instead of *Bon* they'd say *Ouon*; instead of *Fils*, *Rils*; instead of *Monsieur*, *Caounsieur*; and in the room of *Ponchartrain*, *Conchartrain*.

I have here added some Words of the *Huron* Language, that your curiosity may be gratified with a view of the difference between that and the *Algonkin*. The *Hurons* speak with a great deal of gravity, and almost all their Words have aspirations, the *H* being pronounc'd as strong as possible.

I do not know that the Letter *F* is used in any of the *Savage* Languages. 'Tis true, the *Effanapes* and the *Gnashitares* have it; but they are Seated upon the long River beyond the *Mississipi*, and consequently out of the Limits of *Canada*.



## Some Huron Words.

<b>T</b> O be a Man of Sense, <i>Hondioun.</i>	'Tis valuable, difficult, [302] and of importance, <i>Gan-</i> <i>noron.</i>
Spirit, Divinity, <i>Ocki.</i>	To be gone, <i>Saraskoua.</i>
Fire, <i>Tsifta.</i>	Covetous, <i>Onnonstè.</i>
Iron, <i>Aouifta.</i>	Handsome, Proper, <i>Akouastfi.</i>
Woman, <i>Ontebtian.</i>	Very much, <i>Atoronton.</i>
Fufee, <i>Ouraouenta.</i>	That's well, <i>Andeya.</i>
To be forry, <i>Oungaroun.</i>	I Drink, <i>Abirrba.</i>
'Tis cold, <i>Outoirba.</i>	Indian Corn, <i>Onneba.</i>
Fat, <i>Skoueton.</i>	Stockins, <i>Arrbich.</i>
Man, <i>Onnonboue.</i>	A Bottle, <i>Galseta.</i>
Yesterday, <i>Hiorbeba.</i>	A brave Man, <i>Songuitebe.</i>
Jesuit, <i>Tsiftatfi.</i>	'Tis done, <i>Houna.</i>
Far, <i>Deberén.</i>	My Brother, <i>Yatfi.</i>
Otter, <i>Taouinet.</i>	My Comrade, <i>Yonaro.</i>
Not, <i>Staa.</i>	Heaven, <i>Toendi.</i>
Yes, <i>Endae.</i>	A Hutt, <i>Honnoncbia.</i>
Pipe or Calumet, <i>Gannon-</i> <i>daoua.</i>	Hair, <i>Eonbora.</i>
Near, <i>Touskeinbia.</i>	Captain, <i>Otcon.</i>
Soldiers, <i>Skenraguettè.</i>	Dog, <i>Agnienon.</i>
To Salute, <i>Igonoron.</i>	Softly, <i>Skenonba.</i>
Shooes, <i>Arracbiou.</i>	Peace, <i>Skenon.</i>
Traffick, <i>Attendinon.</i>	I say, <i>Attatia.</i>
Altogether, <i>Tiaoundi.</i>	To morrow, <i>Achetek.</i>
All of 'em, <i>Aouetti.</i>	To be, <i>Sackie.</i>
Tobacco, <i>Oyngoua.</i>	

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HISTORY OF  
THE EXPEDITION OF CAPTAINS  
LEWIS AND CLARK

1804-5-6

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